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THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE,

AND A VIEW OF

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE

RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

IN A

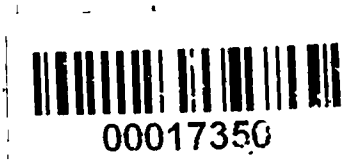
SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

A NEW EDITION, enlarged and greatly improved.

VOL. III.

LONDON,

Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Paternoſter-row; J. ROBSON, New Bond-ſtreet; A. HAMILTON, jun. Falcon-court, Fleet-ſtreet; J. WALTER, Charing-croſs; and J. SEWELL, Cornhill. 1786.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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART I.

From the RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS to the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648.

LETTER LXIX.

A general View of the Tranſactions of EUROPE, *from the Death of* CHARLES IX. *in* 1574, *to the Acceſſion of* HENRY IV. *the firſt King of the Branch of* BOURBON, *to the Throne of* FRANCE, *in* 1589; *including the Riſe of the* REPUBLIC *of* HOLLAND, *the unhappy Cataſtrophe of* DON SEBASTIAN *King of* PORTUGAL, *the Execution of* MARY *Queen of* SCOTS, *and the Defeat of the* SPANISH ARMADA.

LETTER LXIX.

A PARTICULAR detail of the many great and ſingular events, which the period before us contains, would rather perplex the memory than inform the judgment. I ſhall therefore, my dear Philip, content myſelf with offering you a general ſurvey. Conſequences are chiefly to be noted.

PART I. A. D. 1574.

THE death of Charles IX. though the ſubject of rejoicing among the Hugonots, was far from healing the wounds of France, yet bleeding from the late maſſacres. His brother, the duke of Anjou, who ſucceeded him under the name of Henry III. and who, as I have already obſerved, had been elected king of Poland, whence he eloped with the ſecreſy of a felon, found the kingdom in the greateſt diſorder imaginable. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or ſuffered. Each party had devoted itſelf to leaders, whoſe commands were of more weight than the will of the ſovereign; even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, being entirely guided by the counſels of the duke of Guiſe and his family.

HENRY, by the advice of the queen-mother, who had governed the kingdom till his arrival, laid a ſcheme for reſtoring the royal authority, by acting as umpire between the parties; by moderating their differences, and reducing both to a dependence upon himſelf. He poſſeſſed all the diſſimulation neceſſary for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, application, and ſound underſtanding, inſtead of acquiring a ſuperiority over both factions, he loſt the confidence of both, and taught the partizans of each to adhere more cloſely to their ſeveral leaders.

MEANWHILE the Hugonots were not only ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the duke of Alençon, the king's brother, afterwards duke of Anjou, and by the arrival
A. D. 1575. of a German army, under the prince of Condé, but by the preſence of the gallant king of Navarre, who had alſo made his eſcape from court, and placed himſelf at their

their head. Henry, in profecution of his moderating ſcheme, entered into treaty with them; and, deſirous of preſerving a balance between the factions, granted peace to the proteſtants on the moſt advantageous conditions. They obtained the public exerciſe of their religion, except within two leagues of the court; party-chambers, conſiſting of an equal number of proteſtants and catholics, were erected in all the parliaments of the kingdom, for the more equitable adminiſtration of juſtice; all attainders were reverſed, and eight cautionary towns were put into their hands [1]. LETTER LXIX. A. D. 1576.

THIS treaty of pacification, which was the fifth concluded with the Hugonots, gave the higheſt diſguſt to the catholics, and afforded the duke of Guiſe the deſired pretence of declaiming againſt the conduct of the king, and of laying the foundation of that famous LEAGUE, projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain; an aſſociation which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire ſuppreſſion of the new doctrines. In order to divert the force of the League from the throne, and even to obſtruct its efforts againſt the Hugonots, Henry declared himſelf the head of that ſeditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the catholics; but his dilatory and feeble meaſures diſcovered his reluctance to the undertaking, and ſome unſucceſsful enterprizes brought on a new peace, which, though leſs favourable than the former to the proteſtants, gave no ſatisfaction to the followers of the ancient religion. The animoſity of party, daily whetted by theological controverſy, was become too keen to admit of toleration: the king's moderation appeared criminal to one faction, and ſuſpicious to both; while the plain, A. D. 1577.

1. Davila. D'Aubigne. Mezeray.

PART I. A. D. 1577.

direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and of the king of Navarre on the other, engaged by degrees the bulk of the nation to enlist themselves under one or other of those great leaders. Religious hate set at nought all civil regulations, and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel [2].

These commotions, though of a domestic nature, were too important to be overlooked by foreign princes. Elizabeth, queen of England, who always considered her interests as connected with the prosperity of the French protestants, and the depression of the house of Guise, had repeatedly supplied the Hugonots with considerable sums of money, notwithstanding her negociations with the court of France. Philip II. of Spain, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the League, had entered into the closest correspondence with the duke of Guise, and employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. The subjection of the Hugonots, he flattered himself, would be followed by the submission of the Flemings: and the same political motives which induced Elizabeth to assist the French reformers, would have led her to aid the distressed protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, and the great force which he maintained in those mutinous provinces, had hitherto kept her in awe, and made her still preserve some appearance of friendship with that monarch [3].

Elizabeth, however, had given protection to all the Flemish exiles, who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, then so celebrated for its

2. Thuanus. Davila. 3. Camden.

ma-

manufactures, they brought along with them ſeveral uſeful arts, hitherto unknown, or but little cultivated, in England. The queen had alſo permitted the Flemiſh privateers to enter the Engliſh harbours, and there diſpoſe of their prizes. But on the remonſtrance of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſhe withdrew that liberty[4]; a meaſure which, in the iſſue, proved extremely prejudicial to the intereſts of Philip, and which naturally leads us back to the hiſtory of the civil wars in the Low Countries.

THE Gueux, or *beggars*, as the Flemiſh ſea-adventurers were called, being ſhut out from the Engliſh harbours, were under the neceſſity of attempting to ſecure one of their own. They accordingly attacked, in 1572, the Brille, a ſea-port town in Holland; and, by a furious aſſault, made themſelves maſters of the place[5].

UNIMPORTANT as this conqueſt may ſeem, it alarmed the duke of Alva; who, putting a ſtop to thoſe bloody executions, which he was making on the defenceleſs Flemings, in order to enforce his oppreſſive taxes, withdrew the garriſon from Bruſſels, and detached it againſt the Gueux. Experience ſoon proved that his fears were well-grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, rendered deſperate by that complication of cruelty, oppreſſion, inſolence, uſurpation, and perſecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms on the approach of a military force; defeated the Spaniſh detachment, and put themſelves under the protection of the prince of Orange; who, though unſucceſsful in his former attempt, ſtill meditated the relief of the Netherlands. He inflamed

4. Ibid.

5. Grotius, lib. ii.

PART I. the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, reſentment, or love of freedom could inſpire. In a ſhort time, almoſt the whole province of Holland, and alſo that of Zealand, threw off the Spaniſh yoke[6]; and the prince, by uniting the revolted towns in a league, laid the foundation of that illuſtrious republic, whoſe arms and policy long made ſo conſiderable a figure in the tranſactions of Europe, and whoſe commerce, frugality, and perſevering induſtry, is ſtill the wonder of the world.

THE love of liberty transformed into heroes, men little accuſtomed to arms, and naturally averſe from war. The prince of Orange took Mechlin, Oudenarde, and Dendermonde; and the deſperate defence of Haarlem, which nothing but the moſt extreme famine could overcome, convinced the duke of Alva of the pernicious effects of his violent counſels. He entreated the Hollanders, whom his ſeverities had only exaſperated, to lay down their arms, and rely on the king's generoſity; and he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that the utmoſt lenity would be ſhown to thoſe who did not obſtinately perſiſt in their rebellion. But the people were not diſpoſed to confide in promiſes ſo often violated, nor to throw themſelves on the clemency of a prince and governor, who had ſhewn themſelves equally perfidious and inhuman. Now reduced to deſpair, they expected the worſt that could happen, and bid defiance to fortune. Alva enraged at their firmneſs, laid ſiege to Alcmaer, where the Spaniards were finally repulſed, 1573: a great fleet, which he had fitted out, was defeated by the Zealanders; he petitioned to be recalled from his government, and boaſted at his departure, that in the courſe of five

6. Le Clerc. Temple. Grotius.

years,

years, he had made eighteen thouſand heretics periſh by the hands of the public executioner[7]. LETTER LXIX.

ALVA was ſucceeded in the Low Countries by Requeſens, commendator of Caſtile, who began his government with pulling down the inſulting ſtatue of his predeceſſor, erected at Antwerp. But neither this popular act, nor the mild diſpoſition of the new governor, could reconcile the revolted Hollanders to the Spaniſh dominion. Their injuries were too recent, and too grievous to be ſoon forgot. The war continued as obſtinate as ever. The ſucceſs was various. Middleburg was taken by the Zealanders, in 1574, while Lewis of Naſſau, with a conſiderable body of troops, intended as a reinforcement to his brother, the prince of Orange, was ſurpriſed near a village called Noock, and his army defeated. Lewis and two of his brothers were left dead on the field of battle. The ſiege of Leyden was formed by the Spaniards, and the moſt amazing examples of valour and conſtancy were diſplayed on both ſides. The Dutch opened the dykes and ſluices, in order to drive the beſiegers from that enterprize; and the Spaniards had the hardineſs to continue their purpoſe, and to attempt to drain off the inundation. The beſieged ſuffered every ſpecies of miſery, and were at laſt ſo reduced by famine, as to be obliged to feed on the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens. But they did not ſuffer in vain. A violent ſouth-weſt wind drove the inundation with fury againſt the works of the beſiegers, when every human hope ſeemed to fail; and Valdes, the Spaniſh general, in danger of being ſwallowed up by the waves, was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, after having loſt the flower of his army[8].

7. Grotius, lib. ii. 8. Metern. Bentivoglio. Le Clerc.

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THE repulſe at Leyden was followed by the conferences at Breda, in 1575. There the emperor, Rodolph II. endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between his couſin the king of Spain, and the ſtates of the Low Countries, originally ſubject to the empire, and over which the imperial juriſdiction was ſtill ſupreme. But theſe negociations proving unſucceſsful, hoſtilities were renewed, and puſhed with vigour by the Spaniards. They met with a proportional reſiſtance in many places; particularly at Woerde, the reduction of which they were obliged to abandon, after a ſiege of ſeveral months, and a great loſs of men [9].

BUT the conteſt was unequal, between a mighty monarchy and two ſmall provinces, however fortified by nature, or defended by the deſperate valour of the inhabitants. The Spaniards made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Finart, eaſt of Zealand; they entered Zealand itſelf, in ſpite of all oppoſition; they reduced Ziriczee, after an obſtinate reſiſtance; and, as a laſt blow, were projecting the reduction of Holland [10].

NOW it was that the revolted provinces ſaw the neceſſity of foreign aſſiſtance, in order to preſerve them from final ruin; and they ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Elizabeth, their moſt natural ally, offering her the ſovereignty of Holland and Zealand, if ſhe would employ her power in their defence. But that princeſs, though inclined by many ſtrong motives to accept of ſo liberal an offer, prudently rejected it. Though magnanimous, ſhe had never entertained the ambition of making conqueſts, or of acquiring, by any other means, an acceſſion of territory. The ſole purpoſe of her vigilant and

9. Ibid. 10. Bentivoglio. Le Clerc.

active

active politics was to maintain, by the moſt frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spaniſh monarchy appeared the probable conſequence of ſupporting the revolted provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, ſhe could never in honour abandon them, how deſperate ſoever their defence might become, but muſt embrace it even in oppoſition to her intereſt. The poſſeſſion of Holland and Zealand, though highly inviting to a commercial nation, did not ſeem equivalent to ſuch hazard. Elizabeth therefore refuſed, in poſitive terms, the ſovereignty proffered her; but told the ambaſſadors, That, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the States had ſhewn her, ſhe would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the beſt terms poſſible. She accordingly diſpatched Sir Henry Cobham to Philip, who took her mediation in good part, but no accommodation enſued [11]. The war in the Netherlands was carried on with the ſame rage and violence as before, when an accident ſaved the infant republic. LETTER LXIX.

REQUESENS, the governor, dying ſuddenly, at a time when large arrears were due to the Spaniſh troops, they broke into a furious mutiny, in 1576; and ſacked and pillaged the wealthy city of Antwerp, executing terrible ſlaughter on the inhabitants, and threatened the other cities with a like fate. This danger united all the provinces, except Luxembourg, in a confederacy, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, which had for its object the expulſion of foreign troops, and the reſtoration of the ancient liberties of the States [12].

DON John of Auſtria, who had been appointed to ſucceed Requeſens, found every thing in confuſion on

11. Camden. 12. Bentivog. lib. ix. Thuan. lib. lxii.

his

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his arrival in the Low Countries. He ſaw the impoſſibility of reſiſtance, and agreed to whatever was required of him;—to confirm the Pacification of Ghent, and diſmiſs the Spaniſh army. After theſe conceſſions he was acknowledged governor, and the king's lieutenant of the Netherlands[13]. Peace and concord were reſtored, induſtry renewed, and religious diſputes ſilenced; liberty had leiſure to breathe, commerce began to lift her head, and the arts again to diſpenſe their bleſſings.

BUT the ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for the exerciſe of his military talents, lighted anew the torch of diſcord, and the flames of civil war. As he found the States determined to impoſe very ſtrict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles; ſeized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spaniſh army. Animated by the ſucceſſes of his youth, he had opened his mind to vaſt undertakings; and looking beyond the conqueſt of the revolted provinces, had projected a marriage with the queen of Scots, and in her right the acquiſition of both the Britiſh kingdoms. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions, and no longer ſcrupled to embrace the protection of the Flemings, whoſe independency ſeemed now intimately con-
A. D. 1578. nected with her own ſafety. She accordingly entered into an alliance with them; ſent them a ſum of money; and, ſoon after, a body of troops[14]. Prince Caſimire, count palatine of the Rhine, alſo engaged to ſupport them; and collected, for that purpoſe, an army of German proteſtants.

BUT the Flemings, while ſtrengthening themſelves by foreign alliances, were weakened by diſſenſions at home. The duke d'Arſchot, governor of Flanders, and

13. Bentivoglio, lib. x.

14. Camden.

ſeveral

ſeveral other catholic noblemen, jealous of the prince of Orange, who, on the return of the Spaniſh forces, had been elected governor of Brabant, privately invited the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor Rodolph II. to the government of the Low Countries. Matthias, diſguſted at the imperial court, raſhly accepted the propoſal; quitted Prague in the night, and ſuddenly arrived in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, to the aſtoniſhment of the States. Swayed by maxims of the trueſt policy and patriotiſm, the prince of Orange, contrary to all expectation, embraced the intereſt of the archduke; and, by that prudent meaſure, divided the German and Spaniſh branches of the houſe of Auſtria. Don John was depoſed by a decree of the States; Matthias was appointed governor-general of the provinces, and the prince of Orange his lieutenant, to the great mortification of d'Arſchot [15]. A. D. 1578

MEAN while Don John being joined by the famous Alexander Farneſe, duke of Parma, with eighteen thouſand veterans, attacked the army of the States near Gemblours, and gained a conſiderable advantage over them. But the cauſe of liberty ſuſtained a much greater misfortune, in that jealouſy which aroſe between the proteſtant and catholic provinces. The prince of Orange, by reaſon of his moderation, became ſuſpected by both parties; Matthias, receiving no ſupport from Germany, fell into contempt; and the duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. of France, through the prevalence of the catholic intereſt, was declared *Defender of the Liberties of the Netherlands* [16].

DON John took advantage of theſe fluctuating councils to puſh his military operations, and made himſelf

15. Le Clerc, lib. iii. 16. Reidan. lib. ii. Metern. lib. x.

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maſter of ſeveral places. But he was ſo warmly received by the Engliſh auxiliaries at Rimenant, that he was obliged to give ground; and ſeeing little hopes of future ſucceſs, on account of the numerous armies aſſembled againſt him, under prince Caſimire (who was paid by Elizabeth) and the duke of Anjou, he is ſuppoſed to have died of chagrin: others ſay of poiſon, given him by order of Philip, who dreaded his ambition. But be that as it may, he died unexpectedly, and was ſucceeded by the duke of Parma, much his ſuperior both in war and negociation, and whoſe addreſs and clemency gave a new turn to the affairs of Spain in the Netherlands.

THE confederates, in the mean while, ſpent their time in quarrelling, inſtead of acting. Neither the army of prince Caſimire nor that of the duke of Anjou, was of any uſe to the States. The catholics were jealous of the firſt, the proteſtants of the laſt, and the two leaders were jealous of each other. Thoſe evils induced William prince of Orange to form the ſcheme of more cloſely uniting the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and cementing them with ſuch others as lay moſt contiguous; Utrecht, Frieſland, Groningen, Overyſſel, and Guelderland, in which the proteſtant intereſt predominated. The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, and

A. D. 1579. Jan. 15.

ſigned that famous UNION, in appearance ſo ſlight, but in reality ſo ſolid, of ſeven provinces independent of each other, actuated by different intereſts, yet as cloſely connected by the great tye of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic.

IT was agreed, That the Seven Provinces ſhall unite themſelves in intereſt as ONE province, reſerving to each individual province and city all its own privileges, rights, cuſtoms, and ſtatutes; that in all diſputes between particular

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ticular provinces, the reſt ſhall interpoſe only as mediators; and that they ſhall aſſiſt each other with life and fortune, againſt every foreign attempt upon any ſingle province [17]. The firſt coin ſtruck after this alliance is ſtrongly expreſſive of the perilous ſituation of the infant commonwealth. It repreſented a ſhip ſtruggling amid the waves, unaſſiſted by ſails or oars, with this motto: *Incertum quo fata ferant*; "I know not "what may be my fate [18]." A.D. 1579.

THE States had indeed great reaſon for doubt. They had to contend with the whole power of the Spaniſh monarchy; and Philip, inſtead of offering them any equitable conditions, laboured to detach the prince of Orange from the Union of Utrecht. But William was too patriotic to reſign the intereſts of his country for any private advantage. He was determined to ſhare the fate of the United Provinces: and they ſtood in much need of ſupport. The duke of Parma was making rapid progreſs both by his arts and arms. He had concluded a treaty with the Walloons, a name commonly given to the natives of the ſouthern provinces of the Netherlands: he gained the confidence of the catholic party in general, and took by aſſault the cities of Marſien and Maeſtricht; where, in defiance of his authority, great enormities were committed by the Spaniſh troops. Every thing ſeemed poſſible to him. The States however continued reſolute, though ſenſible of their weakneſs. They again made an offer of their ſovereignty to Elizabeth; and as ſhe ſtill rejected it, they conferred it on the duke of Anjou, finally withdrawing their allegiance from the crown of Spain [19]. A.D. 1580.

17. Temple, chap. 1. Reidan. lib. ii. 18. Id. ibid.
19. Grotius, lib. iii.

WHILE

PART I. A.D. 1580.

WHILE Philip was loſing the ſeven United Provinces, fortune threw in his way a new ſovereignty. Don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, grandſon of the great Emanuel, ſmit with the paſſion for military glory, determined to ſignalize himſelf by an expedition againſt the Moors in Africa, where his anceſtors had acquired ſo much renown. In conſequence of this derilection of mind, he eſpouſed the cauſe of Muley Mahomet, whom Muley Moluch, his uncle, had diſpoſſeſſed of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco; and, contrary to the opinion of his wiſeſt counſellors, embarked for Africa, in 1578, with an army of twenty thouſand men. The army of Muley Moluch was ſuperior; but that circumſtance only rouſed the courage of Don Sebaſtian, who wore green armour in order to be a better mark for the enemy. The two armies engaged near Alcazar-quivir; and after a deſperate conflict, the Chriſtians were totally routed, or rather deſtroyed, being all either killed or taken priſoners. Among the ſlain was Don Sebaſtian. The two Mooriſh princes, uncle and nephew, were alſo left dead on the field [20].

THE king of Portugal having left no iſſue, was ſucceeded by his uncle, cardinal Henry; who alſo dying

20. H. de Mendoza. Cabrera. Thuanus. Muley Moluch, who appears to have been a great and generous prince, died with the moſt heroic magnanimity. Waſted by an inveterate diſeaſe, which the fatigue of the battle had rendered mortal, he deſired his attendants to keep his death ſecret, till the fortune of the day ſhould be decided. Even after he loſt the uſe of ſpeech, he laid his finger on his lips, as a farther injunction of ſecrecy; and, ſtretching himſelf in his litter, calmly expired on the field of victory. (Ibid.) In regard to the manner of Don Sebaſtian's death, hiſtorians are by no means agreed; but all admit that he fought gallantly, and diſdained to ſurvive the defeat of his army. Some ſay, that he laid violent hands upon himſelf; others, that being diſarmed, and made priſoner by the victors, he was ſlain by a Mooriſh officer, who came up while the ſoldiers were violently diſputing their right to the royal captive. (Thuanus, *Hiſt. ſui Temp.*) Muley Mahomet periſhed in attempting to ſave himſelf by flight, and Hamet, Muley Moluch's brother, ſucceeded to the throne of Morocco. Id. ibid.

without

without children, a number of competitors aroſe for the crown. Among thoſe was the king of Spain, nephew to Henry by the mother's ſide; the duke of Braganza, married to the grand-daughter of the great Emanuel; Don Antonio, prior of Crato, baſtard of the infant Don Lewis; the duke of Savoy, the duke of Parma, Catherine of Medicis, and pope Gregory XIII. who, extraordinary as it may ſeem, attempted to renew the obſolete claim of the Holy See to the ſovereignty of Portugal. Philip's claim was not the beſt, but he had moſt power to ſupport it. The old duke of Alva, who had been for ſome time in diſgrace, like a maſtiff unchained for fighting, was recalled to court, and put at the head of an army. He gained two victories over Don Antonio; who, of all the other competitors, alone pretended to aſſert his title by arms. Theſe victories decided the conteſt. Philip was crowned at Liſbon, proclaimed in India, and a price was ſet on the head of Antonio [21]. LETTER LXIX. A. D. 1580. A. D. 1581.

A PRICE was alſo ſet on the head of the prince of Orange, as ſoon as it was known in Spain, that the United Provinces had withdrawn their allegiance from Philip; and an attempt was ſoon after made upon his life, by a man of deſperate fortune, in order to obtain the reward. Now firſt did the States become truly ſenſible of the value of that great man. The joy of the Spaniards, on a falſe report of his death, could only be equalled by that of the Flemings, when informed of his ſafety: yet a jealouſy of liberty, and a dread of his ambition, ſtill prevented them from appointing him their ſupreme governor, though every day convinced them of the imprudence, rapacity, and dangerous deſigns of the duke of Anjou. He had at firſt aſſembled a conſiderable army, and raiſed the ſiege of Cambray; but a pro- A. D. 1582.

21. Faria y Suſa. Cabrera.

ject

PART I. A. D. 1582.

ject of marrying queen Elizabeth, whoſe amorous dalliances with him are ſomewhat unaccountable, and by no means juſtifiable, unleſs ſincere, led him to waſte his time in England, while the duke of Parma was making rapid progreſs in the Netherlands. On his return he totally loſt the confidence of the States, by a raſh and violent attack upon their liberties; was obliged to leave the United Provinces; retired into France, and died ſoon after in contempt [22].

THE archduke Matthias had returned to Germany, on the elevation of his rival; ſo that the duke of Parma and the prince of Orange, the two greateſt generals of their age, were now left to diſpute the poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, which became the chief theatre of war in Europe, and the ſchool to which men of courage, from all nations, reſorted to ſtudy the military art.

ENGLAND, during theſe commotions, had enjoyed the moſt perfect tranquillity. But the proſpect now began to be overcaſt; and Elizabeth ſaw dangers gradually multiply on her, from more than one quarter. The earl of Lennox, couſin-german to the young king of Scotland, and captain Stewart of the houſe of Ochiltree, afterwards earl of Arran, had found means to detach James from the Engliſh intereſt; and by their intrigues, the earl of Morton, who, during his whole regency, had preſerved that kingdom in ſtrict alliance with Elizabeth, was brought to the ſcaffold, as an accomplice in the murder of the late king [23].

A BODY

22. Mezeray. Camden. Le Clerc.

23. Spotſwood. Crawfurd. Morton owned that Bothwell had informed him of the deſign againſt the king's life, ſolicited him to concur in the execution of it, and affirmed it was authoriſed by the queen. He at firſt, if we may believe his dying words, abſolutely declined having

LETTER LXIX.

A. D. 1582.

A BODY of the Scottiſh nobility, however, diſſatisfied with the new adminiſtration, which was entirely directed by Lennox and Arran, formed a conſpiracy, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for ſeizing the perſon of the king at the caſtle of Ruthven, the ſeat of the earl of Gowrie; and the deſign being kept ſecret, ſucceeded without any oppoſition. James, who was about twelve years of age, wept when he found himſelf detained a priſoner; but no compaſſion was ſhewn him. "Mind not his tears, ſaid the maſter of Glamis:—better that boys ſhould weep, than bearded men." The king was obliged to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity; to pretend an entire acquieſcence in the conduct of the conſpirators, and to acknowledge the detention of his perſon to be an acceptable ſervice. Arran was confined a priſoner, in his own houſe, and Lennox retired into France, where he ſoon after died[24].

BUT the affairs of Scotland remained not long in this ſituation. James, impatient of reſtraint, made his eſcape from his keepers; and flying to St. Andrews, ſummoned his friends and partizans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marſhal, Montroſe, and Rothes, haſtened to pay their duty to their ſovereign; and the oppoſite party finding themſelves unable to reſiſt ſo powerful a

having any concern in ſuch a meaſure; and, when afterwards urged to the ſame purpoſe, he required a warrant under the queen's hand, authoriſing the attempt; that, as no ſuch warrant was produced, he refuſed to take part in the enterprize. And as an apology for concealing this treaſonable undertaking, he very plauſibly urged in his own vindication, the irreſolution of Darnley, and criminal ſituation of Mary. "To whom," ſaid he, "could I make the diſcovery? The queen "was the author of the conſpiracy. Darnley was ſuch a changeling, "that no ſecret could be ſafely communicated to him. Huntley and "Bothwell, who bore the chief ſway in the kingdom, were themſelves "the perpetrators of the crime." Spotſwood, p. 314. Crawfurd, App. III Robertſon, book vi.

24. Melvil. Spotſwood. Calderwood.

PART I. A. D. 1583.

combination, took ſhelter in England. The earl of Arran was recalled to court: a new attempt to diſturb the government was defeated; the earl of Gowrie, its reputed author, was brought to the block; and ſevere laws were paſſed againſt the preſbyterian clergy, who had applauded the *Raid of Ruthven*, as the late conſpiracy was called [25].

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in Scotland, the king of Spain, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with Elizabeth, ſent, in the name of the pope, a body of ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, in order to retaliate for the aſſiſtance which ſhe gave to his rebellious ſubjects in the Low Countries. But the invaders, though joined by many of the diſcontented Iriſh, were all cut off to a man, by lord Grey, the queen's deputy, and fifteen hundred of the rebels were hanged; a ſeverity which gave great diſpleaſure to Elizabeth [26].

WHEN the Engliſh ambaſſador, at the court of Madrid, complained of this invaſion, he was anſwered by like complaints of the piracies of Francis Drake; a bold navigator, who had paſſed into the South Sea by the ſtraits of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards in thoſe parts, where they leaſt expected an enemy, had taken many rich prizes, and returned home ſafely by the cape of Good Hope, in September 1580. As he was the firſt Engliſhman who had circumnavigated the globe, his name became celebrated on account of ſo hazardous and fortunate an adventure; and the queen, who loved valour, and hoped to ſhare in the ſpoil, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him on board the ſhip which had performed ſo memorable

25. Spotſwood. 26. Camden.

morable a voyage. She cauſed, however, part of the booty to be reſtored, in order to appeaſe the Catholic king [27]. LETTER LXIX. A.D. 1583.

BUT Elizabeth's dangers from abroad might have been regarded as of ſmall importance, had her own ſubjects been united at home Unhappily that was not the caſe. The zeal of the catholics, excited by conſtraint rather than perſecution, daily threatened her with an inſurrection. Not ſatisfied with inceſſant outcries, againſt her ſeverity towards the queen of Scots, and againſt the court of High Commiſſion (an eccleſiaſtical tribunal erected by Elizabeth, for taking cognizance of non-conformiſts, and which was certainly too arbitrary), the Romiſh prieſts, eſpecially in the foreign ſeminaries for the education of Engliſh ſtudents of the catholic communion, endeavoured to perſuade their diſciples, that it would be a meritorious action to take away her life [28].

THOSE ſeminaries, founded by Philip II. the pope, and the cardinal of Lorrain, in order to prevent the decay of the ancient religion in England, ſent over yearly a colony of young prieſts, who maintained the Romiſh ſuperſtition in its full height of bigotry; and who, being often detected in treaſonable practices, occaſioned that ſeverity of which their ſect complained. They were all under the direction of the Jeſuits, an active order of regular prieſts eſtabliſhed ſince the Reformation; the court of Rome perceiving that the lazy monks, and beggarly friars, who had ſufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, aſſailed on every ſide by the bold and inquiſitive ſpirit of the age, and the virulence of the perſe-

27. Ibid. 28. Camden.

PART I. A.D. 1583.

cuted proteſtants. Theſe ghoſtly fathers, who by the very nature of their inſtitution were engaged to pervert learning, and who, where it could ſerve their pious purpoſes, employed it to refine away the plaineſt dictates of morality, perſuaded William Parry, an Engliſh gentleman, and a convert to the catholic faith, that he could not perform a more acceptable ſervice to Heaven than to take away the life of his ſovereign. Parry, then at Milan, was confirmed in this opinion by Campeggio, the pope's nuncio, and even by the pope himſelf, who exhorted him to perſevere; and granted him, for his encouragement, a plenary indulgence, and remiſſion of his ſins. Though ſtill agitated with doubts, he came over to England, with an intention of executing his bloody purpoſe. But happily his irreſolution continued; A.D. 1584. and he was at laſt betrayed by one Nevil, of the family of Weſtmoreland, to whom he had communicated his deſign. Being thrown into priſon, he confeſſed his guilt; received ſentence of death, and ſuffered the puniſhment directed by the law for his treaſonable conſpiracy [29].

SUCH murtherous attempts, the reſult of that bigoted ſpirit with which the followers of the two religions, but more eſpecially the catholics, were actuated, every where now appeared. About the ſame time that this deſign againſt the life of Elizabeth was brought to light, the prince of Orange was aſſaſſinated at Delft, by Balthazar Gerard, a deſperate enthuſiaſt, who believed himſelf impelled by the Divinity, we are told by the jeſuit Strada, to commit that barbarous action. But the aſſaſſin, when put to the torture, declared, perhaps no leſs truly, that the reward promiſed by Philip, in his proſcription of William, had been his principal motive [30].

29. *State Trials*, vol. i. Strype, vol. iii. Hume, chap. xl.
30. Grotius. Metern. Bentivoglio. Thuanus.

LETTER LXIX.

A.D. 1584.

THE United Provinces, now deprived of their chief hope, were filled with ſorrow and conſternation: a general gloom involved their affairs; deſpondency appeared in every face, and anarchy reigned in their councils. The provinces of Holland and Zealand alone endeavoured to repair the loſs, and to ſhew their gratitude to William, by electing his ſon Maurice their ſtadtholder and captain-general by ſea and land. Maurice was at this time only eighteen years old, but ſuch marks of genius diſtinguiſhed his character, as approved him worthy of the dignity to which he was raiſed; and he was oppoſed to the duke of Parma, the greateſt general of that, or perhaps of any other age.

IN Spain it was imagined, that the death of the prince of Orange would deprive the confederates, not only of counſel but of courage, any longer to reſiſt the power of Philip. But, after the firſt emotions of grief and ſurprize ſubſided, it produced very contrary effects. Rage took place of deſpair; and the horror of the aſſaſſination, univerſally attributed to the intrigues of Philip, ſo irritated the people, that they determined to proſecute the war with unremitted vigour, and revenge the death of their great deliverer [31].

MEANWHILE the duke of Parma, having reduced Ghent and Bruſſels, was making preparations for the ſiege of Antwerp, the richeſt and moſt populous city in the Netherlands. On his firſt approach, the citizens opened the ſluices, cut down the dykes, and overflowed the neighbouring country with an inundation, which ſwept away all his magazines. Not diſcouraged, however, by this loſs, he ſet himſelf diligently to repair the misfortune; and cut, at prodigious labour and expence,

31. Grotius, lib. iv. Metern, lib. xii.

PART I. A.D. 1584. but with incredible expedition, a canal from Steken to Caloo, in order to carry off the waters. He next erected that ſtupendous monument of his genius, ſo fatal to the cauſe of liberty! a fortified bridge acroſs the deep and rapid river Scheld, to prevent all communication with the town by ſea. The beſieged attempted to burn it, or blow it up, by ſending againſt it two fire-ſhips, full of powder and other combuſtible materials. But this ſcheme failing, and the beſiegers daily making progreſs, in ſpite of every effort to oppoſe them, Antwerp A.D. 1585. ſent deputies to the duke, and agreed to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Philip [32].

DOMESTIC jealouſy, no leſs than the valour of the Spaniards, or the conduct of their general, contributed to the fall of this flouriſhing city. The Hollanders, and particularly the citizens of Amſterdam, obſtructed every meaſure, propoſed for the relief of Antwerp, hoping to profit by its reduction. The proteſtants, it was concluded, would forſake it, as ſoon as it fell into the hands of Philip. The conjecture proved juſt: Antwerp went hourly to decay; and Amſterdam, enriched by the emigration of her ſiſter's inhabitants, became the greateſt commercial city in the Netherlands.

THIS rivalry, however, of the citizens of Amſterdam, ſo ſingular in the annals of mankind! in ſeeking a problematical private advantage, at the expence of public ſafety, and when expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, had almoſt occaſioned the ſubjection of the whole revolted provinces. The loſs of Antwerp was a mortal blow to the formerly declining ſtate of their affairs; and the only hopes that remained to them aroſe from the proſpect of foreign aid. Well acquainted with the

32. Metern. lib. xii. Reidan. lib. iv. Thuanus, lib. lxxiii.

the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they tendered the ſovereignty of their country to the king of France. But the diſtracted ſtate of that monarchy obliged Henry to reject ſo advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which he expected would bring him relief, by freeing him from the intrigues of that prince, only plunged him in deeper diſtreſs. The king of Navarre, a profeſſed proteſtant, being now next heir to the crown, the duke of Guiſe took thence occaſion to revive the Catholic League; and to urge the king, by the moſt violent expedients to ſeek the excluſion of that gallant prince, and the extinction of the whole ſect. Henry, though himſelf a zealous catholic, diſliked ſuch precipitant meaſures: he attempted to ſuppreſs the League; but finding his authority too weak for that purpoſe, he was obliged to comply with the demands of the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Bourbon, whom the duke had ſet up as a competitor for the ſucceſſion againſt the king of Navarre; to declare war againſt the Hugonets, and countenance a faction, which he regarded as more dangerous to his throne [33]. Any interpoſition in favour of the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the Low Countries, would have drawn upon him at once the indignation of Philip, the Pope, and the League, of which they were the protectors. He was therefore under the neceſſity of renouncing all thoughts of the proffered ſovereignty, though it opened a proſpect equally flattering to his ambition and his vengeance.

LETTER LXIX. A.D. 1585.

The United Provinces, in this extremity, had again recourſe to Elizabeth; who, although ſhe continued to reject their ſovereignty, for the reaſons formerly aſſigned, agreed to yield them more effectual ſupport. She accordingly concluded a new treaty with them to that pur-

33. Davila, lib. vii. Mezeray, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. v.

PART I. A. D. 1585.

poſe; in conſequence of which, ſhe was put in poſſeſſion of the Brille, Fluſhing, and the caſtle of Rammakins, as a ſecurity for the payment of her expences. She knew that the ſtep ſhe had taken would immediately engage her in hoſtilities with Philip, yet was ſhe not alarmed at the view of the preſent greatneſs of that prince; though ſuch prepoſſeſſions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spaniſh monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when informed that the queen of England had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, ſcrupled not to ſay, "She "has now taken the diadem from her head, and placed "it upon the point of a ſword[34]."

BUT Elizabeth, though rather cautious than enterpriſing in her natural diſpoſition,—though ſhe preferred peace, ſhe was not afraid of war; and when ſhe ſaw an evident neceſſity, ſhe braved danger with magnanimity and boldneſs. She now prepared herſelf to reſiſt, and even to aſſault, the whole ſtrength of the Catholic king. The earl of Leiceſter was ſent over to Holland, at the head of the Engliſh auxiliaries, conſiſting of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe; while Sir Francis Drake, with a fleet of twenty ſail, and a body of land forces, attacked the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies. This gallant ſeaman made himſelf maſter of St. Jago de Cuba, of St. Domingo, the capital of Hiſpaniola, of Carthagena, A. D. 1586. and ſeveral other places; and returned to England with ſuch riches, and ſuch accounts of the Spaniſh weakneſs in the New World, as ſerved to ſtimulate the nation to future enterprizes[35].

THE Engliſh arms were leſs ſucceſsful in the Low Countries. Leiceſter poſſeſſed neither courage nor ca-

34. Camden. 35. Ibid.

pacity

pacity equal to the truſt repoſed in him by the queen: and the States, who from a knowlege of his influence with Elizabeth, and a deſire of engaging that princeſs ſtill farther in their defence, had loaded him with new honours; had conferred on him the title of Governor, and Captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and veſted him with a power almoſt dictatorial, ſoon found their confidence miſplaced. He not only ſhewed his inability to direct military operations, by permitting the duke of Parma to advance in a rapid courſe of conqueſts, but abuſed his authority, by an adminiſtration equally weak, wanton, cruel, and oppreſſive. Intoxicated with his elevation, he aſſumed the air of a ſovereign prince; refuſed the inſtructions of the States; filled up all vacant places with his own unqualified favourites; excited the people to riſe againſt the magiſtrates; introduced diſorder into the finances, and filled the provinces with confuſion. The Dutch even ſuſpected him of a deſign upon their liberties; and Elizabeth, in order to quiet their fears, or, as ſome ſay, leſt an attempt ſhould be made againſt the life of her favourite, commanded him to reſign his government, and return home[35]. Prince Maurice was elected by the States governor in the room of the earl of Leiceſter, and Lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen commander of the Engliſh forces.

In the mean time Elizabeth was occupied about more immediate dangers than thoſe from the Spaniſh arms; though Philip had already formed the moſt hoſtile deſigns againſt her, and had begun his preparations for that famous armament denominated the Invincible Armada. Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of

[35] Camden, p. 512. Metern. lib. xiii. xiv. Grotius, lib. v. Bentiglio, part II. lib. iv.

Der-

PART I. A.D. 1586.

Derbyſhire, inſtigated by John Ballard, a popiſh prieſt, of the ſeminary of Rheims, engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the life of his ſovereign, as a neceſſary prelude to the deliverance of the queen of Scots, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion in England; and ſo ſure did he think himſelf of ſucceſs, and ſo meritorious his undertaking, that in order to perpetuate the memory of it, he cauſed a picture to be drawn in which he was repreſented ſtanding amidſt his ſix confederates, with a motto, expreſſing that their common danger was the bond of their fidelity. Happily the plot was diſcovered by the vigilance of ſecretary Walſingham; and Babington, and thirteen others, among whom was Ballard, ſuffered death for their treaſonable deſign [37].

THE ſcene that followed was new and extraordinary. On the trial of the conſpirators it appeared, that the queen of Scots, who had held a correſpondence with Babington, had encouraged him in his enterprize: and it was reſolved, by Elizabeth and her miniſters, to bring Mary alſo to a public trial, as being acceſſary to the conſpiracy. Her papers were accordingly ſeized, her principal domeſtics arreſted, and her two ſecretaries ſent priſoners to London. After the neceſſary information had been obtained, forty commiſſioners, appointed under the great ſeal, together with five of the judges, were ſent to Fotheringay-caſtle, where Mary was now confined, to hear and decide this great cauſe.

AN idea ſo repugnant to majeſty, as being arraigned for treaſon, had not once entered the mind of the queen of Scots, though ſhe no longer doubted but her deſtruc-

37. Camden, p. 515—518. Murden's *State Papers*. *Statutes*, vol. i.

tion

LETTER LXIX.

A. D. 1586.

tion was determined on; nor had the ſtrange reſolution yet reached her ears, in the ſolitude of her priſon. She received the intelligence, however, without emotion or aſtoniſhment; and ſhe proteſted in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſhe had never countenanced any attempt againſt the life of Elizabeth, at the ſame time that ſhe refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of her commiſſioners "I came into England," ſaid ſhe, "an inde-"pendent ſovereign, to implore the queen's aſſiſtance, "not to ſubject myſelf to her authority; nor is my ſpi-"rit ſo broken by paſt misfortunes, or ſo intimi-"dated by preſent dangers, as to ſtoop to any thing un-"becoming the majeſty of a crowned head, or that will "diſgrace the anceſtors from whom I am deſcended, "and the ſon to whom I ſhall leave my throne. If I "muſt be tried, princes alone can be my peers. The "queen of England's ſubjects, how noble ſoever their "birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever "ſince my arrival in this kingdom, I have been con-"fined as a priſoner. Its laws never afforded me pro-"tection. Let them not now be perverted in order to "take away my life [38]."

MARY, however, was at laſt perſuaded to appear before the commiſſioners, "to hear and to give anſwer to "the accuſations which ſhould be offered againſt her," though ſhe ſtill refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the court. The chancellor endeavoured to vindicate its authority, by pleading the ſupreme juriſdiction of the Engliſh laws over every one who reſided in England: the lawyers of the crown opened the charge againſt the queen of Scots; and the commiſſioners, after hearing her defence, and adjourning to Weſtminſter, pronounced ſentence of death upon that unfortunate October 25.

38. Robertſon, book vii.

princeſs,

PART I. princeſs, and confirmed it by their ſeals and ſubſcriptions [39].
A.D. 1586.

THE chief evidence againſt Mary aroſe from the declaration of her ſecretaries; for no proof could otherwiſe be produced that the letters from Babington were delivered into her hands, or that any anſwer was returned by her direction: and the teſtimony of two witneſſes, even though men of character, who knew themſelves expoſed to all the rigours of impriſonment, torture, and death, if they refuſed to give any evidence which might be required of them, was by no means concluſive. In order to ſcreen themſelves, they might throw the blame on her; but they could diſcover nothing to her prejudice, without violating that oath of fidelity which they had taken, in conſequence of their office; and their perjury, in one inſtance, rendered them unworthy of credit in another. Beſides, they were not confronted with her, though ſhe deſired that they might, and affirmed, that they would never, to her face, perſiſt in their evidence.

BUT the condemnation of the queen of Scots, not juſtice, was the object of this unprecedented trial: and the ſentence, after many heſitations and delays, was carried into execution. Never did Mary appear ſo great, as in this laſt ſcene of her life; ſhe was not only tran-

39. Camden, p. 526. It is remarkable, that among the charges againſt Mary, ſhe was accuſed, and ſeemingly on good grounds, of negociating with the king of Spain for *transferring* to him her claim to the *Engliſh crown*, and *diſinheriting* her *heretical ſon*; that ſhe had even entered into a *conſpiracy* againſt James; had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland; and had *inſtigated* her adherents to ſeize James's *perſon*, and *deliver* him into the hands of the *pope* or the *king of Spain*; whence he was never to be freed but on *condition* of his becoming *Catholic*. See *Letter to Charles Paget*, May 20, 1586, in Dr. Forbes's *Collect.* and Murden, p. 506.

LETTER LXIX.

A. D. 1587.

quil, but intrepid and magnanimous. When Sir Andrew Melvil, the maſter of her houſhold, who had been excluded for ſome weeks from her preſence, was permitted to take his laſt farewel, he burſt into tears; bewailing the condition of a miſtreſs whom he loved, as well as his own hard fate, in being appointed to carry into Scotland the news of ſuch a mournful event, as the cataſtrophe that awaited her. "Weep not, good "Melvil," ſaid ſhe, "there is at preſent greater cauſe "for rejoicing. Thou ſhalt this day ſee Mary Stuart "delivered from all her cares, and ſuch an end put to "her tedious ſufferings as ſhe has long expected. But "witneſs that I die conſtant in my religion, firm in my "fidelity towards Scotland, and unchanged in my affec-"tion to France. Commend me to my ſon. Tell him "I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his "honour, or to his rights; and God forgive all thoſe "who have thirſted without cauſe for my blood." On aſcending the ſcaffold, ſhe began, with the aid of her women, to take off her veil and upper garments; and the executioner rudely endeavouring to aſſiſt them, ſhe gently checked him, and ſmiling ſaid, "I have not been "accuſtomed to undreſs before ſo many ſpectators, nor "to be ſerved by ſuch valets!" and, ſoon after, laid her head on the block, with calm but undaunted fortitude [40].

SUCH, my dear Philip, was the fate of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, one of the

[40]. *La Mort de la Royne d'Eſcoſſe*, ap. Jebb. Camden. Spotſwood. The truth of hiſtory forbids me to conceal, that Mary was ſupported, during this awful cataſtrophe, by the conſolations of a ſuperſtitious devotion. After throwing herſelf upon her knees, and repeating prayers from the *Office of the Virgin*, ſhe preſſed the crucifix to her lips; and then looking upon it eagerly exclaimed, "O Chriſt! thou waſt ex-"tended on the croſs to ſave mankind, when they were loſt. Pardon "my tranſgreſſions, and ſtretch out thy arms to receive me in mercy." Id. ibid. Stuart, book viii.

moſt

PART I. A.D. 1587.

moſt amiable and accompliſhed of her ſex; who, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, fell a victim to the jealouſy and to the fears of an offended rival. But although Mary's trial was illegal, and her execution arbitrary, hiſtory will not permit us to ſuppoſe, that her actions were at no time criminal. With all the ornaments both of body and mind, which can embelliſh the female character, ſhe had many of the weakneſſes of a woman; and our ſympathy with her long and accumulated ſufferings, ſeen through the medium of her beauty, only perhaps could prevent us from viewing her, notwithſtanding her elegant qualities, with ſome degree of that abhorrence which is excited by the pollution of the marriage-bed and the guilt of murder [41].

ELIZABETH, when informed of Mary's execution, affected the utmoſt ſurprize and concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations, and weeds of mourning, were all employed to diſplay the greatneſs of her ſorrow. She even undertook to make the world believe, that the queen of Scots, her dear ſiſter and kinſwoman, had been put to death without her knowledge, and contrary to her inclination; and, to complete this farce, ſhe commanded Daviſon, her ſecretary, to be thrown into priſon, under pretence that he had exceeded his commiſſion, in diſ-

41. All cotemporary authors agree in aſcribing to Mary the utmoſt beauty of countenance and elegance of ſhape of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black: though, according to the fashion of the times, ſhe frequently wore borrowed locks, [illegible] of different colours. Her eyes were a dark grey; her complexion was exquiſitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to ſhape and colour. Her ſtature was of an height that ro[illegible] the majeſtic. She danced, ſhe walked, and rode with equal eaſe. H[illegible] taſte for muſic was juſt; and ſhe ſung ſweetly, and played upon the [illegible] with uncommon ſkill. Robertſon, from Brantome.

patching the fatal warrant; which, although ſhe had ſigned, ſhe never meant to carry into execution [42]. LETTER LXIX. A. D. 1585.

THIS hypocritical diſguiſe was aſſumed chiefly to appeaſe the young king of Scotland, who ſeemed determined to employ the whole force of his dominions, in order to revenge his mother's death. He recalled his ambaſſador from England, refuſed to admit the Engliſh envoy into his preſence, and with difficulty condeſcended to receive a memorial from the queen. Every thing bore the appearance of war. Many of his nobility inſtigated him to take up arms immediately, and the catholics recommended an alliance with Spain. Elizabeth ſaw the danger of ſuch a league. After allowing James ſome decent interval to vent his grief and anger, ſhe employed her emiſſaries to ſet before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her: and theſe, joined to the queen's diſſimulation, and the pacific diſpoſition of that prince, prevailed over his reſentment. He fell gradually into a good underſtanding with the court of England.

WHILE Elizabeth was thus enſuring the tranquillity of her kingdom from the attempts of her neareſt neighbour, ſhe was not inattentive to more diſtant dangers. Hearing that Philip was ſecretly preparing that prodigious armament, which had for its object no leſs than the entire conqueſt of England, ſhe ſent Sir Francis

42. Camden. After thus freely cenſuring Elizabeth, and ſhewing the defectiveneſs of the evidence againſt Mary, I am bound to own, that it appears from a paſſage in her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 27th of July 1586, that ſhe had accepted Babington's offer to aſſaſſinate the Engliſh queen. "As to Babington," ſays ſhe, "he hath "*kindly* and *honeſtly offered himſelf* and all his *means, to be employed* any way "I would. *Whereupon* I hope to have *ſatisfied him* by *two* of my *ſeveral* "*Letters*, ſince I had his." (Murden's *Collect.* p. 533). This inconteſtable evidence puts her guilt beyond all controverſy.

Drake

PART I. A. D. 1587.

Drake with a fleet to intercept his ſupplies, to pillage the coaſts of his dominions, and deſtroy his ſhipping: and that gallant commander, beſides other advantages, was ſo ſucceſsful as to burn, in the harbour of Cadiz, an hundred veſſels laden with ammunition and naval ſtores. About the ſame time Thomas Cavendiſh, a private adventurer, launched into the South Sea in three ſmall ſhips; committed great depredations on the Spaniards in thoſe parts; took many rich prizes; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Thames in a kind of triumph [43].

By theſe fortunate enterprizes, the Engliſh ſeamen learned to deſpiſe the large unwieldy ſhips of the enemy, in which chiefly they placed their hopes of ſucceſs. The naval magazines of Spain were deſtroyed, and means were taken to prevent Philip from being able ſuddenly to repair the loſs, by an artificial run upon the bank of Genoa, whence he expected a large loan; a meaſure which was conducted by an Engliſh merchant, in conjunction with his foreign correſpondents, and does great honour to the ſagacity of the Engliſh miniſtry [44]. The ſailing of the Armada was retarded for twelve months; and the queen had thereby leiſure to take more effectual meaſures againſt that formidable fleet and army, intended for the invaſion of her kingdom.

Meanwhile Philip, whoſe reſolution was finally taken, determined to execute his ambitious project with all poſſible force and effect. No longer ſecret in his purpoſe, every part of his European dominions reſounded with

43. Monſon's *Naval Tracts*.

44. For this anecdote relative to the bank of [illegible] we are indebted to the intriguing ſpirit, and inquiſitive diſpoſi[illegible] biſhop Burnet, who conjectures that it was thought too great a [illegible] communicated to Camden, when the materials we[illegible] into his hands for writing the Hiſtory of the Reign of Elizabeth. [illegible] Times, book II. [illegible]

PART I. A. D. 1588.

largeſt frigates. But the city of London fitted out thirty veſſels to reinforce this ſmall navy; the other ſea-port towns a proportional number; and the nobility and gentry hired, armed, and manned, forty-three veſſels at their own charge. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was appointed admiral, and took on him the chief command; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe, ſerved under him. The principal fleet was ſtationed at Plymouth; and a ſmaller ſquadron, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma[45].

THE land forces of England were more numerous than thoſe of the enemy, but inferior in diſcipline and experience. An army of twenty thouſand men was diſpoſed in different bodies along the ſouth coaſt, with orders to retire backwards, and waſte the country, if they could not prevent the Spaniards from landing; twenty-two thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, were ſtationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital; and the principal army, conſiſting of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, commanded by lord Hunſdon, was reſerved for guarding the queen's perſon, and appointed to march whitherſoever the enemy ſhould appear[46].

THESE armies, though all the Spaniſh forces had been able to land, would poſſibly have been ſufficient to protect the liberties of their country. But as the fate of England, in that event, muſt depend on the iſſue of a ſingle battle, all men of ſerious reflection entertained the moſt awful apprehenſions of the ſhock of at leaſt fifty thouſand veterans, commanded by experienced officers,

45. Monſon, ubi ſup. 46. Camden.

under

the noiſe of armaments, and the treaſures of both Indies were exhauſted in vaſt preparations for war. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artizans were employed in building veſſels of uncommon ſize and force: naval ſtores were bought up at great expence; proviſions amaſſed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime provinces, and plans laid for ſuch an embarkation as had never before appeared on the ocean. LETTER LXIX. A. D. 1587.

THE military preparations in Flanders were no leſs formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment aſſembling to reinforce the duke of Parma; who employed all the carpenters he could procure, in building flat-bottomed veſſels, to tranſport into England an army of thirty-five thouſand men, aſſembled in the Netherlands. This fleet of tranſports was intended to join A. D. 1588. the grand Armada, vainly denominated *invincible*, which was to ſet ſail from Liſbon; and after chaſing out of the way all the Flemiſh and Engliſh veſſels, which it was ſuppoſed would make little if any reſiſtance, to enter the Thames; to land the whole Spaniſh army in the neighbourhood of London, under the command of the duke of Parma, and other experienced officers, and to decide, at one blow, the fate of England. The ſucceſs of the enterprize was never called in queſtion; ſo that ſeveral Spaniſh and Italian noblemen embarked as volunteers, to ſhare in the glory of ſo great a conqueſt.

ELIZABETH was appriſed of all theſe preparations. She had foreſeen the invaſion; nor was ſhe diſmayed at the aſpect of that power, by which all Europe apprehended ſhe muſt be overwhelmed. Her force was indeed very unequal to Philip's: all the ſailors in England did not then exceed fifteen thouſand men: the royal navy conſiſted only of twenty-eight ſail, many of which were of ſmall ſize, and none of them exceeded the bulk of our

under so consummate a general as the duke of Parma. The queen alone was undaunted. She issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource, which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She even appeared on horse-back in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, discovered a chearful and animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. "I know," said she, intrepidly, "I have but the weak and feeble arm of a woman; "but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of Eng- "land too[47]!" LETTER LXIX. A. D. 1588.

THE heroic spirit of Elizabeth communicated itself to the army, and every man resolved to die rather than desert his station. Meanwhile the Spanish Armada, after various obstructions, appeared in the Channel. It consisted of an hundred and thirty vessels, of which near one hundred were galleons, and carried about twenty thousand land forces. Effingham, who was informed of its approach by a Scotch pirate, saw it, just as he could get out of Plymouth Sound, coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly described by the historians of that age, without assuming the language of poetry. Not satisfied with representing the Armada as a spectacle infusing equal terror and admira-

47. Hume, *Hist. Eng.* vol. v. note (BB).

PART I. A. D. 1588.

tion into the minds of all beholders, and as the moſt magnificent that had ever appeared on the main, they aſſert, That, although the ſhips bore every ſail, it yet advanced with a ſlow motion, as if the ocean had groaned with ſupporting, and the winds been tired with impelling ſo enormous a weight [48].

THE Engliſh admiral at firſt gave orders not to come to cloſe fight with the Spaniards, on account of the ſize of their ſhips, and the number of ſoldiers on board; but a few trials convinced him, that even in cloſe fight, the ſize of the Spaniſh ſhips was of no advantage to the enemy. Their bulk expoſed them to the fire, while their cannon, placed too high, ſhot over the heads of the Engliſh men of war. Every thing conſpired to the ruin of this vaſt armament. Sir Francis Drake took the great galleon of Andaluſia, and a large ſhip of Biſcay, which had fallen behind the reſt; while the nobility and gentry haſtened out with their veſſels from every harbour, and reinforced Effingham, who filled eight of his ſmaller ſhips with combuſtibles, and ſent them into the midſt of the enemy. The Spaniards fled with diſorder and precipitation: the Engliſh commanders fell upon them while in confuſion; and beſides doing great damage to their whole fleet, took twelve ſhips.

IT was now evident that the purpoſe of the Armada was utterly fruſtrated; and the duke of Parma, whoſe veſſels were calculated for tranſporting ſoldiers, not for fighting, poſitively refuſed to leave the harbour while the Engliſh were maſters of the ſea. The Spaniſh admiral, after many unſucceſsful rencounters, prepared therefore to make his way home; but as the winds were contrary to his return through the Channel, he reſolved to take

48. Camden. Bentivoglio.

take the circuit of the iſland. The Engliſh fleet followed him for ſome time; and had not their ammunition fallen ſhort, through the negligence of the public offices in ſupplying them, they had obliged the Armada to ſurrender at diſcretion.

LETTER LXIX. A. D. 1588.

SUCH a concluſion of that vain-glorious enterprize would have been truly illuſtrious to the Engliſh, but the event was ſcarce leſs fatal to the Spaniards. The Armada was attacked by a violent ſtorm in paſſing the Orkneys; and the ſhips having already loſt their anchors, were obliged to keep at ſea, while the mariners, unaccuſtomed to hardſhips, and unable to manage ſuch unwieldy veſſels, allowed them to drive on the weſtern iſles of Scotland, or on the coaſt of Ireland, where they were miſerably wrecked. Not one half of the fleet returned to Spain, and a ſtill ſmaller proportion of the ſoldiers and ſeamen; yet Philip, whoſe command of temper was equal to his ambition, received with an air of tranquillity the news of ſo humbling a diſaſter. "I ſent my "fleet," ſaid he, "to combat the Engliſh, not the ele"ments. God be praiſed that the calamity is not "greater [49]!"

WHILE the naval power of Spain was receiving this ſignal blow, great revolutions happened in France. The Hugonots, notwithſtanding the valour of the king of Navarre, who had gained at Coutras, in 1587, a complete victory over the royal army, were reduced to the greateſt extremity by the power of the League; and the exorbitant ambition of the duke of Guiſe, joined to the idolatrous admiration of the catholics, who conſidered him as a Saviour, and the king as unworthy of the throne, only could have preſerved the reformers from

49. Ferreras. Strada.

PART I. A.D. 1588. utter ruin. The citizens of Paris, where the duke was moſt popular, took arms againſt their ſovereign, and obliged him to abandon his capital at the hazard of his life; while the doctors of the Sorbonne declared, "That a weak prince may be removed from the go-"vernment of his kingdom, as a tutor or guardian, "unfit for his office, may be deprived of his truſt [50]."

HENRY's ſpirit was rouſed, by the dread of degradation, from that lethargy in which it had long repoſed. He diſſembled his reſentment; entered into a negociation with Guiſe and the League; ſeemed outwardly reconciled, but harboured vengeance in his heart. And that vengeance was haſtened by an inſolent ſpeech of the ducheſs de Montpenſier, the duke of Guiſe's ſiſter; who ſhewing a pair of gold ſciſſars, which ſhe wore at her girdle, ſaid, "The beſt uſe that I can make of them "is, to clip the hair of a prince unworthy to ſit on the "throne of France, in order to qualify him for a cloi-"ſter, that ONE *more deſerving to reign* may mount "it, and repair the loſſes which religion and the ſtate "have ſuffered through the weakneſs of his prede-"ceſſor [51]."

AFTER Henry had fully taken his reſolution, nine of his guards, ſingled out by Loignac, firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, were introduced to him in his palace. He put a poniard into each of their hands, informed them of their buſineſs, and concluded thus: "It is an execution of juſtice, which I command you "to make on the greateſt criminal in my kingdom, and "whom all laws, human and divine, permit me to "puniſh; but not having the ordinary methods of juſ-"tice in my power, I authoriſe you, by the right inhe-"rent

50. Cayet. 51. P. Daniel.

"rent in my royal authority, to ſtrike the blow." They were ſecretly diſpoſed in the paſſage, which led from the king's chamber to his cabinet; and when the duke of Guiſe came to receive audience, ſix poniards were at once plunged into his breaſt [52]. He groaned, and expired. LETTER LXIX. A. D. 1588. Dec. 23.

"I AM now a king, Madam!" ſaid Henry, entering the apartment of the queen-mother, "and have no "competitor: the duke of Guiſe is dead." The cardinal of Guiſe alſo was diſpatched, a man more violent than even his brother. Among other inſolent ſpeeches, he had been heard to ſay, that he would hold the king's head between his knees till the tonſure was performed at the monaſtery of the Capuchins [53].

THESE cruel executions, which their neceſſity alone can excuſe, had an effect very different from what Henry expected. The partizans of the League were inflamed with the utmoſt rage againſt him, and every where flew to arms. Rebellion was reduced into a ſyſtem. The doctors of the Sorbonne had the arrogance to declare, "That the people were releaſed from their "oath of allegiance to Henry of Valois:" and the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guiſe, was choſen by the League *Lieutenant General of the State Royal and Crown of France*; an unknown and unintelligible title, but which was meant as a ſubſtitute for ſovereignty [54]. A. D. 1589.

IN this extremity, the king, almoſt abandoned by his catholic ſubjects, entered into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre. He enliſted large bodies of Swiſs infantry and German cavalry;

52. Davila. Du Tillet. 53. Thuanus. 54. Mezeray.

PART I. A. D. 1589. and being ſtill ſupported by his chief nobility, and the princes of the blood, he was enabled, by all thoſe means, to aſſemble an army of forty thouſand men. With theſe forces the two kings advanced to the gates of Paris, and were ready to cruſh the League, and ſubdue all their enemies, when the deſperate reſolution of one man gave a new turn to the affairs of France.

JAMES CLEMENT, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody ſpirit of bigotry, which diſtinguiſhed the age, and of which we have ſeen ſo many horrid examples, had embraced the pious reſolution of ſacrificing his own life, in order to ſave the church from the danger which now threatened it, in conſequence of the alliance between Henry III. and the Hugonots: and being admitted into the king's preſence, under pretence of important buſineſs, he mortally wounded that prince, while reading ſome ſuppoſed diſpatches, and was himſelf inſtantly put to death by the guards [55]. This aſſaſſination left the ſucceſſion open to the king of Navarre; who, as next heir to the crown, aſſumed the government under the title of Henry IV. But the reign of that great prince, and the various difficulties which he was obliged to encounter, before he could ſettle his kingdom, muſt be reſerved for a future Letter.

August 1.

IN the mean time, I cannot help obſerving, that the monk who had thus imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, was conſidered at Paris as a ſaint and a martyr: he was exalted above Judith, and his image was impiouſly placed on the altars. Even pope Sixtus V. ſo deſervedly celebrated for his dignity of mind, as well as for the ſuperb edifices with which he adorned Rome, was ſo much infected with the general contagion, that

55. Thuanus, Davila, Mezeray.

he

he compared Clement's enterprize to the incarnation of the Word, and the resurrection of the Saviour [56]! LETTER LXIX. A.D. 1589.

THIS observation leads me to another. These holy assassinations, so peculiar to the period that followed the Reformation, proceeded chiefly from the fanatical application of certain passages in the Old Testament to the conjunctures of the times. Enthusiasm taught both protestants and catholics to consider themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven, and possessing the only true religion, without allowing themselves coolness to reflect, that the adherents of each had an equal right to this vain pretension. The protestants founded it on the purity of their principles, the catholics on the antiquity of their church; and while impelled by their own vindictive passions, by personal animosity or party-zeal, to the commission of murder, they imagined they heard the voice of God commanding them to execute vengeance on his and their enemies.

56. Ibid.

LETTER LXX.

The general View of EUROPE *continued from the Acceſſion of* HENRY IV. *to the Peace of* VERVINS, *in* 1598.

LETTER LXX.

A.D. 1589.

THE reign of Henry IV. juſtly ſtyled the Great, forms one of the moſt memorable æras in the hiſtory of France. The circumſtances of the times, the character of the prince and of the man, all conſpire to render it intereſting; and his connections with other Chriſtian powers, either as allies or enemies, make it an object of general importance. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon him, as the hero of its military theatre, and the centre of its political ſyſtem. Philip and Elizabeth were now but ſecondary actors.

THE prejudices entertained againſt Henry's religion made one-half of the royal army forſake him, on the aſſaſſination of his predeceſſor; and it was only by ſigning certain propoſitions, favourable to their religion, and promiſing to liſten to their doctors, that he could engage any of the catholic nobility to ſupport his title. The daily deſertion of his troops obliged him to abandon the ſiege of Paris, and retire into Normandy. Thither he was followed by the forces of the League, commanded by the duke of Mayenne, who had proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon king, under the name of Charles X. though that old man, thrown into priſon on the aſſaſſination of the Guiſes, was ſtill confined in the caſtle of Fontenai le Compte, in Poitou [1].

IN this extremity, Henry had recourſe to the queen of England, and found her well diſpoſed to aſſiſt him;

1. Davila, lib. x. Mezeray, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. vi.

to

LETTER LXX.

to oppoſe the progreſs of the Catholic League, and of the king of Spain, her dangerous and inveterate enemy, who entertained views either of diſmembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. Conſcious of Henry's neceſſities, Elizabeth ſent him immediately a preſent of twenty-two thouſand pounds, in order to prevent the deſertion of his Swiſs and German auxiliaries; and embarked, with all expedition, a reinforcement of four thouſand men, under the command of lord Willoughby, an officer of abilities. Meanwhile the king of France had been ſo fortunate as to ſecure Dieppe and Caen, and to repulſe the duke of Mayenne, who had attacked him under the cannon of Arques, where he lay entrenched. On the arrival of the Engliſh forces, he marched immediately towards Paris, to the great conſternation of the inhabitants, and had almoſt taken the city by ſtorm; but the duke of Mayenne entering it ſoon after with his army, Henry judged it prudent to retire. A. D. 1580.

THE king's forces were ſtill much inferior to thoſe of the League; but what was wanting in numbers, was made up in valour. He attacked the duke of Mayenne at Ivri, and gained a complete victory over him, though ſupported by a ſelect body of Spaniſh troops, detached from the Netherlands. Henry's behaviour on this occaſion was truly heroic. "My lads," ſaid he to his ſoldiers, "if you ſhould loſe ſight of your colours, rally "towards this," pointing to a large white plume which he wore in his hat:—"you will always find it in the road "to honour. God is with us!" added he emphatically, drawing his ſword, and ruſhing into the thickeſt of the enemy; but when he perceived their ranks broken, and great havock committed in the purſuit, his natural humanity and attachment to his countrymen A. D. 1590.

PART I. A. D. 1590.

trymen returned, and led him to cry, "Spare my "French ſubjects;[2]!" forgetting that they were his enemies.

SOON after this victory died the cardinal of Bourbon, and the king inveſted Paris. That city contained two hundred and twenty thouſand ſouls, animated by religious enthuſiaſm, and Henry's army did not amount to fifteen thouſand men; yet he might certainly have reduced it by famine, if not by other means, had not his paternal tenderneſs for his people, perhaps ill-timed, made him forget the duty of the ſoldier, and relax the rigour of war. He left a free paſſage to the old men, women, and children; he permitted the peaſants, and even his own men, to carry proviſions ſecretly to the beſieged. "I would rather never poſſeſs Paris," ſaid he, when blamed for this indulgence, "than acquire it "by the deſtruction of its citizens[3]." He feared no reproach ſo much as that of his own heart.

MEANTIME the duke of Parma, by order of the king of Spain, left the Low Countries, where he was hard preſſed by prince Maurice, and haſtened to the relief of Paris. On his approach Henry raiſed the ſiege, and offered him battle; but that conſummate general, having performed the important ſervice for which he was detached, prudently declined the combat. And ſo great was his ſkill in the art of war, that he retired in the face of the enemy, without affording them an oppor-

2. Davila, lib. xi. The ſame great hiſtorian tells us, That a young man who carried the royal white coronet, and a page who wore a large white plume, like that of the king, being ſlain, the ranks began to give way; ſome falling to the right, ſome to the left; till they recognized Henry, by his plume and his horſe, fighting deſperately, with his ſword in his hand, in the firſt line, and returned to the charge, ſhutting themſelves cloſe together, like a wedge. Id. ibid.

3. P. Daniel, tom. iv. Thuan. lib. xcix.

tunity

tunity of attacking him, or ſo much as putting his army into diſorder! and reached his government, where his preſence was much wanted, without ſuſtaining any loſs in thoſe long marches. The States, however, were gainers by this expedition: prince Maurice had made rapid progreſs during the abſence of the duke. LETTER LXX. A. D. 1590.

AFTER the retreat of the Spaniards, Henry made ſeveral freſh attempts upon Paris, which was his grand object; but the vigilance of the citizens, particularly of the faction of Sixteen, by which it was governed, defeated all his deſigns:—and new dangers poured in upon him from every ſide. When the duke of Parma retired, he left eight thouſand men with the duke of Mayenne, for the ſupport of the League; and pope Gregory XIV. at the requeſt of the king of Spain, not only declared Henry a relapſed heretic, and ordered all the catholics to abandon him, under pain of excommunication, but ſent his nephew with troops and money to join the duke of Savoy, who was already in poſſeſſion of Provence, and had entered Dauphiné. About the ſame time the young duke of Guiſe made his eſcape from the caſtle of Tours, where he had been confined ſince the aſſaſſination of his father. All that the king ſaid, when informed of theſe dangers was, "The more "enemies we have, the more care we muſt take, and "the more honour there will be in beating them [4]."

ELIZABETH, who had withdrawn her troops, on the firſt proſperous appearance of Henry's affairs, now ſaw the neceſſity of again interpoſing. She ſent him three thouſand men, under Sir John Norris, who had commanded with reputation in the Low Countries; and afterwards four thouſand, under the earl of Eſſex, a young A. D. 1591.

4. Id. ibid. Davila, lib. xi.

nobleman,

PART I. A. D. 1591.

nobleman, who by many exterior accompliſhments, and much real merit, was daily riſing into favour; and ſeemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leiceſter, now deceaſed, had ſo long enjoyed. With theſe ſupplies, joined to an army of thirty-five thouſand men, Henry entered Normandy, according to his agreement with Elizabeth, and formed the ſiege of Rouen. The place made an obſtinate reſiſtance; but as the army of the League was unable to keep the field, it muſt ſoon have been obliged to ſurrender, if an unexpected event had not procured it relief. The duke of Parma, by order of Philip, again left his government; and advancing to Rouen, with rapid marches, a ſecond time robbed Henry of his prey, by obliging him to raiſe the ſiege. The gallant monarch, burning with revenge, again boldly offered his antagoniſt battle; again purſued him; and the duke, by a wonderful piece of generalſhip, and in ſpite of the greateſt obſtacles, a ſecond time made good his retreat to the Netherlands [5].

HENRY was in ſome meaſure conſoled for this diſappointment, by hearing that Leſdiguieres had recovered Provence, chaſed the duke of Savoy over the mountains, and made incurſions even to the gates of Turin; that the viſcount de Turenne had vanquiſhed and ſlain the mareſchal of Lorrain, while Thammes had defeated the duke de Joyeuſe, who commanded for the League in Languedoc, and killed two thouſand men; that la Valette, the new governor of Provence, had retaken
A. D. 1592. Antibes, and the Spaniards been baffled in an attempt upon Bayonne [6].

MEANWHILE all things were haſtening to a crisis between the parties. The faction of Sixteen, which was

5. Davila, lib. xii. xiii. Thuanus, lib. ciii. 6. Id. ibid.

entirely

LETTER LXX.

entirely in the intereſt of Spain, its principal members being penſioners of Philip, had hanged the firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, and two of the judges, for not condemning to death a man obnoxious to the junto, but againſt whom no crime was found. The duke of Mayenne, on the other hand, afraid of being cruſhed by that faction, had cauſed four of the Sixteen to be executed in the ſame manner. The duke of Parma, on the part of Philip, preſſed the duke of Mayenne to call an aſſembly of the ſtates, in order to deliberate on the election of a king; and the catholics of Henry's party gave him clearly to underſtand, that they expected he would now declare himſelf on the article of religion. A.D. 1592.

THE king and the duke of Mayenne were equally ſenſible of the neceſſity of complying with theſe demands, though alike diſagreeable to each. The ſtates were convoked; and the duke of Parma, under pretence of ſupporting their reſolutions, was ready to enter France with a powerful army, in order to forward the views of Philip. But the death of that great general at Arras, where he was aſſembling his forces, freed the duke of Mayenne from a dangerous rival, Henry from a formidable enemy, and perhaps France from becoming a province of Spain.

THE ſtates, however, or more properly the heads of the catholic faction, met, according to the edict, at Paris; and the pope's legate there propoſed, That they ſhould bind themſelves by an oath never to be reconciled to the king of Navarre, even though he ſhould embrace the catholic faith. This motion was oppoſed by the duke of Mayenne and the majority of the aſſembly, but ſupported by the Spaniſh faction; and as there was yet no appearance of Henry's changing his religion, A. D. 1593. Jan. 26.

PART I. A.D. 1593.

ligion, the duke of Feria, Philip's ambaſſador, after attempting to gain the duke of Mayenne, by offering him the ſovereignty of Burgundy, together with a vaſt ſum of money, boldly propoſed, That the ſtates ſhould chuſe the infanta Eugenia queen, as the neareſt relation of Henry III. and the arch-duke Albert, to whom her father was inclined to give her in marriage, king in her right. The moſt zealous of the Sixteen revolted againſt this propoſal; declaring, That they could never think of admitting at once of two foreign ſovereigns. The duke of Feria changed his ground. He propoſed the infanta, on condition that ſhe ſhould eſpouſe a prince of France, including the houſe of Lorrain, the nomination to be left to his catholic majeſty; and, at length, he fixed on the young duke of Guiſe. Had the laſt propoſal been made firſt, it is poſſible that Philip might have carried his point; but now the duke of Mayenne, unwilling to become dependent on his nephew, pretended to diſpute the ambaſſador's power: and the parliament of Paris, as ſuppoſed through his influence, publiſhed a decree, declaring ſuch a treaty contrary to the Salic law, which being a fundamental principle of the government, could on no account whatſoever be ſet aſide [7].

WHILE theſe diſputes were agitated at Paris, Henry was puſhing his military operations; but he was become ſenſible, notwithſtanding his ſucceſſes, that he never could, by force of arms alone, render himſelf maſter of his kingdom. The catholics of his party grew daily more importunate to know his ſentiments in regard to religious matters; and their jealouſy on this point ſeemed to increaſe, in proportion as he approached to the full poſſeſſion of his throne. Though a proteſtant, he

[7] Davila, lib. xiii. P. Henault, tom. ii.

was

was no bigot to his ſect: he conſidered theological differences as ſubordinate to the public good; and therefore appointed conferences to be held between the divines of the two religions, that he might be enabled to take, with more decency, that ſtep, which the ſecurity of his crown, and the happineſs of his ſubjects, now made neceſſary. LETTER LXX. A.D. 1593.

In theſe conferences, if we may credit the celebrated marquis de Roſni (afterwards duke of Sully, and prime miniſter to Henry) the proteſtant divines even allowed themſelves to be worſted, in order to furniſh the king with a better pretext for embracing that religion which it was ſo much his intereſt to believe. But however that might be, it is certain, that the more moderate proteſtants, and Roſni among others, were convinced of the neceſſity of ſuch a ſtep; and that Henry, ſoon after the taking of Dreux, ſolemnly made his abjuration at St. Denis, and received abſolution from the archbiſhop of Bourges[8]. July 25.

This meaſure, however, though highly agreeable to the body of the French nation, was not immediately followed by thoſe beneficial conſequences, which were expected from it. The more zealous catholics ſuſpected Henry's ſincerity: they conſidered his abjuration

8. Id. ibid. Nothing can more ſtrongly demonſtrate the propriety of ſuch a meaſure, than the reflections of Davila, a living and intelligent obſerver of the times. "The king's converſion," ſays he, "was "certainly the moſt powerful remedy that could be applied to the dan"gerous diſeaſe of the nation. But the truce by which it was preced"ed, did alſo diſpoſe men's minds for the working of ſo wholeſome a "medicine; for the people on both ſides having begun to taſte the *ſe*"*curity* and the *benefits* that reſult from *concord*, in a *ſeaſon* when *harveſt* "and *vintage* made them more *ſenſible* of the *happineſs*, they fell ſo in "love with it, that it was afterwards more eaſy to incline them to a *de*"*ſire* of *peace*, and a *willing obedience* under their *lawful prince*." *Hiſt.* lib. xiv. o

PART I. A. D. 1593.

merely as a device to deceive the League; and as the perſonal ſafety of many, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their violence, was concerned in obſtructing his progreſs, they had recourſe to their former expedient of aſſaſſination, in which they were encouraged by their prieſts. Several attempts were made againſt the king's life. The zealous Hugonots, on the other hand, became more diffident of Henry's intentions towards their ſect; and his proteſtant allies, particularly the queen of England, expreſſed much indignation at this intereſted change of his religion. Senſible, however, that the League and the king of Spain were ſtill their common enemies, Elizabeth at laſt admitted his apologies. She continued her ſupplies of men and money; and time ſoon produced a wonderful alteration in the affairs of the French monarch, and evinced the wiſdom of the ſtep which he had taken, though not entirely conformable to the laws of honour, and conſequently a reproach on his private character.

THE marquis de Vitri, governor of Meaux, was the firſt man of rank, who ſhewed the example of a return to duty. He had often ſollicited the duke of Mayenne, as the cauſe of the war was at an end, to make his peace with the king; but receiving no ſatisfaction from that nobleman, he reſolved to follow the dictates of his own heart. He ordered the garriſon to evacuate the town; and having aſſembled the magiſtrates, delivered to them the keys. "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "I ſcorn to ſteal an "advantage, or make a fortune at other men's expence. "I am going to pay my allegiance to the king, and leave "it in your power to act as you pleaſe." The magiſtrates, after a ſhort deliberation, agreed to ſend a deputation to Henry, in order to make their ſubmiſſions, and entreat him to return their governor. The deputies were

were ſo confounded at their audience, that they were incapable of ſpeech, but threw themſelves at the king's feet: Having viewed them for ſome moments in that condition, Henry burſt into tears; and lifting them up, ſaid, "Come not as enemies to crave forgiveneſs, but "as children to a father always willing to receive you "with open arms 9." LETTER LXX. A. D. 1593.

THE popularity acquired by this reception greatly promoted the royal cauſe. Henry was crowned with much ſolemnity at Chartres, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy pacification. La Chaſtre delivered up the provinces of Orleanois and Berri, of which he was governor, and d'Alincourt the city of Pontoiſe; the duke of Mayenne retired from Paris; and the count de Briſac, who commanded the French garriſon (for there was alſo a Spaniſh one), privately admitted the king into his capital, of which he took poſſeſſion almoſt without ſhedding blood. Villars, who had ſo gallantly defended Rouen for the League, ſurrendered that city on conditions; and a multitude of other places either offered terms, or opened their gates without ſtipulating for any. The duke d'Elbeuf, of the houſe of Lorrain, who had ſeized the government of Poitou, declared for the king. The young duke of Guiſe alſo made his peace with Henry. Baligny, who ſtill held the principality of Cambray, ſubmitted; and marſhal d'Aumont, with the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh fleet and army, made himſelf maſter of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin and Breſt, towns guarded by the Spaniſh forces in Britanny, while the king in perſon beſieged and took Laon. On this advantage Amiens, and great part of Picardy, acknowledged his ſway 10. A. D. 1594.

9. *Mem. pour ſervir a l'Hiſt de France*, tom. ii.
10. Davila. Mezeray. Dupleix.

PART I. A. D. 1594. In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes Henry was on the point of periſhing by the hand of a deſperate aſſaſſin. On his return from Picardy to Paris, John Chaſtel, a young fanatic, educated among the Jeſuits, ſtruck him Dec. 27. on the mouth with a knife, while he was ſaluting one of his courtiers, in a chamber of the Louvre, and beat out one of his teeth. The blow was intended for the king's throat; but fortunately, his ſtooping prevented it from ſtriking that dangerous part. The aſſaſſin was ſeized, avowed his principles, and was executed. On his examination, he confeſſed that he had frequently heard his ghoſtly preceptors ſay, that king-killing was lawful; and that as Henry IV. had not yet been abſolved by the pope, he thought he might kill him with a ſafe conſcience. Some writings to the ſame purpoſe were found in the poſſeſſion of father Guiſgard, who was condemned to ſuffer the puniſhment appointed for treaſon; and all the Jeſuits were baniſhed the kingdom, by a decree of the parliament of Paris [11].

While theſe things were paſſing in France, war was ſtill carried on with vigour in the Low Countries. The confederates not only continued to maintain the ſtruggle for liberty, but even roſe ſuperior to the power of Spain. Prince Maurice ſurpriſed Breda; and, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh forces, under Sir Francis Vere, he took Gertruydenberg and Groningen, after two of the moſt obſtinate and beſt conducted ſieges recorded in hiſtory. Count Manſveldt, an able and experienced officer, who had ſucceeded the duke of Parma in the chief command, beheld the taking of the firſt with an army ſuperior to the prince's, without being able to force his lines; and Verdugo, the Spaniſh general

11. Davila, lib. xiv. Henault, tom. ii.

durſt

durſt not attempt the relief of the ſecond, though the garriſon made a gallant defence [12]. LETTER LXX.

A. D. 1594.

THE progreſs of the confederates, however, did not prevent the archduke Erneſt, now governor of the Low Countries, from ſending ten thouſand men to lay waſte the frontiers of France; and Henry, who had long been engaged in hoſtilities with Philip, was provoked by this freſh inſult, as well as encouraged by his own ſucceſſes and thoſe of the confederates, to declare war againſt Spain. He led an army in perſon into Burgundy; took the caſtles of Dijon and Talan; expelled the Spaniards from that province; obliged the duke of Mayenne to ſue for an accommodation, and received abſolution from the pope. A. D. 1595.

BUT while this great prince, rendered too confident by good fortune, was employed in a wild and fruitleſs expedition into Franche Compté, in compliance with the ambition of his miſtreſs, the fair Gabrielle d'Etrées, who wanted a principality for her ſon Cæſar, a Spaniſh army, under the command of don Pedro de Guſman, conde de Fuentes, reduced Dourlens, Catelet, and Cambray. In balance, however, of theſe loſſes, the duke of Guiſe ſurpriſed Marſeilles, and Henry concluded his negociation with the duke of Mayenne; who, charmed with the generous reception which he met with on his ſubmiſſion, continued ever after firmly attached to the king's perſon and government. A. D. 1596.

WHEN informed of the taking of Marſeilles, Henry was ſo much elated, that he exclaimed in a kind of tranſport of joy, "Then I am at laſt a king [13]!" His joy, however, was but of ſhort duration. The archduke

12 Bentivoglio. Grotius. Metern. 13 Dupleix, tom. v.

PART I. A. D. 1596.

Albert, who had ſucceeded on the death of his brother to the government of the Low Countries, ſent an army to beſiege Calais; and that fortreſs, not being in a proper ſtate of defence, the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender, before the king could march with a ſufficient force to its relief.

THIS unfortunate event was ſoon followed by another. While Henry was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for the loſs of Calais, which fanned the dying aſhes of the League,—while harraſſed by the complaints of the Hugonots, and chagrined at the extravagant demands of the dukes of Savoy and Mercœur, who were ſtill in arms againſt him, and took occaſion from his diſaſters to exalt their conditions,—he received intelligence that Portocarrero, the Spaniſh governor of Dourlens, had made himſelf maſter of Amiens, by ſurprize [14].

THE king of France was now ready to ſink under the weight of his misfortunes. His finances were ſo much exhauſted in buying the allegiance of his rebellious ſubjects, or in reducing them to their duty, that he was utterly incapable of any new effort: he was not even able to pay the few troops in his ſervice. He had already aſſembled his nobles, and made them acquainted with his neceſſities; but they, beggared alſo by the civil wars, ſeemed little diſpoſed to aſſiſt him, though he addreſſed them in the moſt engaging language. "I have "not called you together," ſaid he, "as my predeceſſ- "ors were wont, to oblige you blindly to obey my will; "I have aſſembled you to receive your counſels; to liſ- "ten to them; to follow them, and to put myſelf en- "tirely under your direction [15]."

14. Cayet, tom. iii.

15. *Mem. de Sulli*, tom. i.

GIVE

"GIVE me an army," cried he, on another occaſion, "and I will chearfully venture my life for the ſtate!" —But the means of furniſhing *bread* for that army, as he pathetically complained, were not in his power. LETTER LXX. A. D. 1596.

HENRY, however, was happily extricated out of all his difficulties by the fertile genius of his faithful ſervant, the marquis de Roſni, whom he appointed ſuperintendant of the finances. That able miniſter, by loans upon the king's faith, by ſums advanced upon the revenues, and other neceſſary expedients, enabled him to raiſe, in a ſhort time, an army of upwards of twenty thouſand men. With this army, the beſt provided he had ever led into the field, together with four thouſand Engliſh auxiliaries, ſent over by Elizabeth in conſequence of a new treaty, Henry marched immediately A. D. 1597. to Amiens, in order to attempt the recovery of that important place. "Let us go," ſaid he, on undertaking this arduous enterpriſe, "and act the king of Navarre: "we have acted the king of France long enough." The Spaniſh garriſon, compoſed of choice troops, and commanded by experienced officers, made an obſtinate defence, and allowed the archduke time to march to its relief; but Albert not being able to force the French lines, though his army conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand veterans, retired to Arras, and Amiens ſurrendered to the king [16].

HENRY returned in triumph to Paris, where he was received with every poſſible mark of loyalty and reſpect; and after convincing all parties, that the happineſs of his people was his ſupreme wiſh, and the object of all his enterprizes, he marched againſt the duke of Mercœur, who ſtill held part of Britanny. Surpriſed

16. Duplcix. Davila. Mezeray.

PART I. A.D. 1598.

at this unexpected viſit, and deſerted by the nobility of the duchy, who haſtened to make their peace with the king, the duke gave himſelf up for loſt. But a lucky expedient ſaved him. He offered his only daughter, with the duchies of Eſtampes, Penthievre, and Mercœur, in marriage to Henry's natural ſon Cæſar; and the king, glad of ſuch an opportunity of gratifying the ambition of his miſtreſs, readily agreed to the propoſal [17].

HENRY now ſaw himſelf in full poſſeſſion of his kingdom: the League was entirely diſſolved; and the catholics in general ſeemed ſatisfied with his public profeſſion of their religion. The Hugonots, his original friends, alone gave him any uneaſineſs. They had frequently ſince the king's abjuration, but more eſpecially ſince his reconciliation with the ſee of Rome, expreſſed apprehenſions on account of their religion. Henry ſoon made them eaſy on that point. He aſſembled the heads of the party at Nantes; and from motives of policy, as well as of gratitude and tenderneſs, paſſed the famous Edict bearing date from that place, and which granted them every thing that they could reaſonably deſire. It not only ſecured to them the free exerciſe of their religion, but a ſhare in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the privilege of being admitted to all employments of truſt, profit, and honour [18].

DURING theſe tranſactions in France, the confederates were not idle in the Low Countries. Prince Maurice and Sir Francis Vere, who commanded the Engliſh forces, gained at Tournhout, in 1597, a complete victory over the Spaniards; in conſequence of

17. Davila, lib. xv. *Mem. de Sulli*, tom. ii. Mezeray. Varillas.

18. Thuanus.

which

which that place immediately ſurrendered, and an incredible number of others were reduced before the cloſe of the campaign. LETTER LXX. A. D. 1598.

NOR were the confederates leſs ſucceſsful in other quarters. Beſides the naval armaments, which Elizabeth was continually ſending to annoy the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, and to obſtruct their trade at home, a ſtrong force was ſent to Cadiz, where Philip was making vaſt preparations for a new invaſion of England. The combined Engliſh and Dutch fleet, under lord Effingham, attacked the Spaniſh ſhips and gallies in the bay; and, after an obſtinate engagement, obliged them all either to ſurrender, retire beneath their forts, or run aſhore. The earl of Eſſex, who commanded the land forces, then diſembarked his troops, and carried the city by aſſault. The plunder made there was conſiderable; but the reſolution which the Spaniſh admiral took, of ſetting fire to a large fleet of merchant ſhips, richly laden, in the port, deprived the conquerors of a far more valuable booty. The loſs, however, ſuſtained by the Spaniards was not diminiſhed by that expedient, and is computed at twenty millions of ducats [19].

AGE and infirmities, together with ſo many diſaſters and diſappointments, had now broken the lofty and obſtinate ſpirit of Philip. He began to moderate his views, and offered peace to the confederates on pretty equitable terms; but as he refuſed to acknowledge the independency of the United Provinces, they would not negociate with him, and Elizabeth came to the ſame reſolution, on their account.

HENRY's ſituation did not enable him to behave with equal firmneſs. France, long torn by civil diſſenſions,

19. Birch's *Mem.* vol. ii.

ſtood

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ſtood in need of peace. Philip knew it, and offered advantageous conditions to Henry, that he might be enabled, by diminiſhing the number of his enemies, to act with more vigour againſt the United Provinces. The French monarch, however, before he entered into treaty with the king of Spain, ſent ambaſſadors to Elizabeth and the States, in order to facilitate a general agreement, and make known his pacific purpoſe. Both powers remonſtrated againſt ſuch a meaſure, unleſs the independency of the States was made its baſis: Henry pleaded his neceſſity of negociating; and although they blamed the ſtep, which they ſaw he was determined to take, they were ſenſible of the juſtice of his arguments. A ſeparate peace was accordingly concluded, between France and Spain, at Vervins[20]; by which Henry recovered poſſeſſion of all the places ſeized by Philip during the courſe of the civil wars, and procured to himſelf what he had long ardently deſired, leiſure to ſettle the domeſtic affairs of his kingdom; to cultivate the arts of peace, (to which his genius was no leſs turned than to thoſe of war) and to contribute to the happineſs and proſperity of his people.

BUT before we take a view of the flouriſhing ſtate of France, under the equitable government of this great and good prince, and the wiſe adminiſtration of Sully, or of England during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, I muſt carry forward the conteſt between Spain and the United Provinces.

20. Davila, lib. xv. Mezeray, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. vi.

LET-

LETTER LXXI.

SPAIN *and the* LOW COUNTRIES, *from the Peace of* VERVINS, *to the Truce in* 1609, *when the Freedom of the* UNITED PROVINCES *was acknowledged.*

LETTER LXXI. A. D. 1598.

SOON after the peace concluded between France and Spain at Vervins, a new treaty was negociated between England and the United Provinces, in order that the war might be ſupported with vigour againſt Philip. The States, afraid of being deſerted by Elizabeth, ſubmitted to what terms ſhe was pleaſed to require of them. They agreed to diminiſh their debt, which amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds, by remitting conſiderable ſums annually; to pay the Engliſh troops in the Low Countries; and to maintain, at their own expence, the garriſons of the cautionary towns, while England ſhould continue the war againſt Spain [1].

SCARCE was this negociation finiſhed, when Philip II. its firſt object, breathed his laſt at Madrid; leaving behind him the character of a gloomy, jealous, haughty, vindictive, and inexorable tyrant. With great talents for government, he failed to obtain the reputation of a great prince; becauſe with a perfect knowledge of mankind, and the moſt extenſive power of benefiting them, he became the great deſtroyer of his ſpecies, and the chief inſtrument of human miſery. His head fitted him for the throne of Spain, and his indefatigable application for the ſovereignty of both Indies; but his heart and his habit of thinking, only for the office of Grand In-

1. Camden. Thuanus. Grotius.

quiſitor.

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quiſitor. Hence he was long the terror, but never the admiration of Europe.

Nor was Philip's character more amiable or eſtimable in private than in public life. Beſides other crimes of a domeſtic nature, he was accuſed by William prince of Orange, in the face of all Europe, and ſeemingly with juſtice, of having ſacrificed his own ſon, Don Carlos, to his jealous ambition; and of having poiſoned his third wife, Iſabella of France, that he might marry Anne of Auſtria, his niece [2]. The particulars of the death of Don Carlos are ſufficiently curious to merit attention. That young prince had ſometimes taken the liberty to cenſure the meaſures of his father's government in regard to the Netherlands, and was even ſuſpected of a deſign of putting himſelf at the head of the inſurgents, in order to prevent the utter ruin of his future ſubjects, for whoſe ſufferings he had often expreſſed his compaſſion. In conſequence of this ſuſpicion he was put under confinement; and although ſeveral princes interceded for his releaſe, his father was inexorable. The inquiſition, through the influence of the king, who on all great occaſions conſulted the members of that ghoſtly tribunal, paſſed ſentence againſt the unhappy Carlos; and the inhuman and unnatural Philip, under cover of that ſentence, ordered poiſon, which proved effectual in a few hours, to be adminiſtered to this ſon and heir of empire [3].

No European prince ever poſſeſſed ſuch vaſt reſources as Philip II. Beſides his Spaniſh and Italian dominions, the kingdom of Portugal and the Netherlands, he en-

2. See the *Manifeſto* of the prince of Orange, in anſwer to Philip's *Proſcription*.

3. Compare Thuanus, lib. xliii. with Strada, lib. vii.

joyed

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joyed the whole Eaſt India commerce, and reaped the richeſt harveſt of the American mines. But his prodigious armaments, his intrigues in France and in England, and his long and expenſive wars in the Low Countries, exhauſted his treaſures, and enriched thoſe whom he fought to ſubdue; while the Spaniards, dazzled with the ſight of the precious metals, and elated with an idea of imaginary wealth, neglected agriculture and manufactures, and were obliged, as at preſent, to depend on their more induſtrious neighbours for the luxuries as well as the neceſſaries of life. Spain, once a rich and fertile kingdom, became only the mint of Europe. Its wedges and ingots were no ſooner coined than called for; and often mortgaged before their arrival, as the price of labour and ingenuity. The ſtate was enfeebled, the country rendered ſterile, and the people poor and miſerable. A. D. 1598.

THE condition of the United Provinces was in all reſpects the reverſe of Spain. They owed every thing to their induſtry. By that a country naturally barren was rendered fertile, even while the ſcene of war. Manufactures were carried on with vigour, and commerce was extended to all the quarters of the globe. The republic was become powerful, and the people rich, in ſpite of every effort to enſlave and oppreſs them. Conſcious of this, the court of Madrid had changed its meaſures before the death of Philip. After much deliberation, that haughty monarch, deſpairing of being able to reduce the revolted provinces by force, and deſirous of an accommodation, that he might end his days in peace, but diſdaining to make in his own name the conceſſions neceſſary for that purpoſe, transferred to his daughter Iſabella, contracted to the arch-duke Albert of Auſtria, the ſovereignty of the Low Countries.

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PHILIP II. died before the celebration of the marriage, but his ſon Philip III. a virtuous though a weak prince, punctually executed the contract; and Albert, after taking poſſeſſion of his ſovereignty according to the neceſſary forms, wrote to the ſtates of the United Provinces, acquainting them of that deed, and entreating them not to refuſe ſubmiſſion to their natural princeſs, who would govern them with lenity, indulgence, and affection.

THE States returned no anſwer to the archduke's letter. They were now determined to complete that independency for which they had ſo long ſtruggled. But although their purpoſe had been leſs firm, there was a clauſe in the contract which would have produced the ſame reſolution. It provided that, in caſe the Infanta left no iſſue, all the provinces in the Low Countries ſhould return to the crown of Spain; and as there was little probability of her having offſpring, the States ſaw their danger, and avoided it, by refuſing to liſten to any terms of ſubmiſſion [2].

A. D. 1599. THE firſt material ſtep taken by Albert and Iſabella for reducing their revolted ſubjects to obedience, was the iſſuing of an edict, in conjunction with the Catholic king, precluding the United Provinces all intercourſe with the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, or with the Spaniſh Netherlands. This was a ſevere blow to the commerce of the States. They had hitherto, ſingular as it may ſeem, been allowed an open trade with all the Spaniſh dominions in Europe, and had drawn much of their wealth from that ſource, as well as increaſed by it their naval power. An idea of general advantage only could have induced Philip II. to permit ſuch a traf-

2. Metern. Grotius. Bentivoglio.

fic;

fic; and an experience of its balance being in favour of the republic, as will always be the caſe between induſtrious and indolent nations, made it now be prohibited under the name of an indulgence. But the interdict was iſſued too late effectually to anſwer its end. The Dutch, already ſtrong by ſea, ſent out a fleet to cruiſe upon the Spaniards: their land levies were proſecuted with great diligence; and, in order to make up for the reſtraint upon their home trade, they turned their views towards India, where they attacked the Spaniards and Portugueſe, and at length monopolized the moſt lucrative branch of that important commerce. LETTER LXXI. A. D. 1599.

MEANWHILE war was carried on with vigour in the Low Countries. Beſides ſeveral bodies of Germans and Swiſs, the States took into their ſervice two thouſand French veterans, diſbanded by Henry IV. on the concluſion of the peace of Vervins; and that prince generouſly ſupplied them with money, under pretence of paying his debts. The archduke's forces were alſo much augmented by freſh levies from Spain, Italy, and Germany. Each party ſeemed formidable to the other, yet both were eager for the combat: and after ſeveral towns had been taken, many gallantly aſſaulted, and no leſs gallantly defended on both ſides, the two armies came to a general engagement at Newport, near Oſtend, where Albert was totally defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men [3]. The field was obſtinately diſputed for three hours. The confederates began the battle with incredible intrepidity; and the Spaniſh veterans, who compoſed the enemy's van, received the ſhock with great firmneſs. The conflict was terrible. The Spaniards at laſt gave ground, but repeatedly returned to the charge, were A. D. 1600.

3. Grotius, lib. ix. Reidan. lib. xvii. Bentivoglio, par. iii. lib. vi.

repeatedly

PART I. repeatedly repulſed, and finally broken and routed by the valour of the Engliſh auxiliaries, under Sir Francis Vere, who led the van of the confederates[4]. We muſt not, however, with Sir William Temple, our too warm countryman, aſcribe the victory ſolely to Engliſh proweſs. A ſhare of the honour, at leaſt, ought to be allowed to the military ſkill of prince Maurice; to a body of Swiſs, immediately under his command, that ſupported the Engliſh troops; and to the valour of the many gallant volunteers, who had come from all parts of Europe to ſtudy the art of war under ſo able and experienced a general, and who ſtrove to outdo each other in daring acts of heroiſm.

A. D. 1600.

THIS victory was of the utmoſt importance to the United Provinces, as the defeat of their army, in the preſent criſis, muſt have been followed by the loſs of their liberties, and their final ruin as independent ſtates; but its conſequences otherwiſe were very inconſiderable. Prince Maurice either miſpent his time after the battle, or his troops, as he affirmed, were ſo exhauſted with fatigue, as not to be fit for any new enterprize, till Albert was again ready to take the field with a ſuperior army. Overtures of peace were renewed, and rejected by the States. The confederates laid ſiege to
A. D. 1601. Rhimberg, and the archduke to Oſtend. Rhimberg was reduced, but Maurice did not think his ſtrength ſufficient to attempt the relief of Oſtend.

MEANTIME the ſiege of that important place was vigorouſly conducted by the archduke in perſon, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army. The brave reſiſtance which he met with aſtoniſhed, but did not diſcourage him. His heart was ſet on the reduction

4. Id. ibid.

of

of Oſtend. All the reſources of war were exhauſted; rivers of blood were ſpilt, but neither ſide was diſpirited; becauſe both received conſtant ſupplies, the one by ſea, the other from the neighbouring country. New batteries were daily raiſed, and aſſaults made without number, and without effect. The garriſon commanded by Sir Francis Vere, who had gallantly thrown himſelf into the town, in the face of the enemy, repelled all the attempts of the Spaniards with invincible intrepidity; and at length obliged Albert to turn the ſiege into a kind of blockade, and commit the command to Rivas, one of his generals, while he himſelf went to Ghent, in order to concert new meaſures for accompliſhing his favourite enterprize. LETTER LXXI. A. D. 1601. A. D. 1602.

THE States embraced this opportunity to change the garriſon of Oſtend, worn out and emaciated with continual fatigue and watching; and as the communication by ſea was preſerved open, the ſcheme was executed without difficulty. A freſh garriſon, ſupplied with every neceſſary, took charge of the town, under the command of colonel Dorp, a Dutchman, colonel Edmunds a Scotchman, and Hertain, a Frenchman; while Sir Francis Vere, with the former garriſon, joined the army under prince Maurice.

THE army before Oſtend, compoſed of Flemings, Walloons, and Spaniards, was reinforced with eight thouſand Italians, under the marquis of Spinola, an officer of great military talents, to whom Albert wiſely committed the conduct of the ſiege, after the ineffectual efforts of Rivas. Spinola ſhewed, that no fortification, however ſtrong, is impregnable to an able engineer, furniſhed with the neceſſary force. Oſtend was reduced to a heap of ruins; and the beſiegers were making preparations for the grand

PART I. A.D. 1604

aſſault, when the governor offered to capitulate. Spinola granted the garriſon honourable terms [5].

DURING this memorable ſiege, which laſted upwards of three years, and coſt the king of Spain and the archduke the lives of fourſcore thouſand brave ſoldiers, prince Maurice made himſelf maſter of Rimbach, Grave, and Sluys, acquiſitions which more than balanced the loſs of Oſtend; and Albert, by employing all his ſtrength againſt that place, was prevented, during three campaigns, from entering the United Provinces. The Dutch did not let ſlip the occaſion, which that interval of ſecurity afforded them, to puſh their trade and manufactures. Every nerve was ſtrained in labour, and every talent in ingenuity. Commerce, both foreign and domeſtic, flouriſhed: Ternate, one of the Moluccas, had been gained; and the Eaſt India company, that grand pillar of the republic, was eſtabliſhed [6].

BUT as a counterpoiſe to theſe advantages, the States had loſt the alliance of England, in conſequence of the death of Elizabeth. James I. her ſucceſſor, ſhewed no inclination to engage in hoſtilities with Spain; and concluded, ſoon after his acceſſion, a treaty with that court. Through the interceſſion of Henry IV. however, he agreed to ſupply the States ſecretly with money: and what is very remarkable as well as honourable, it appears that James, in his treaty with Spain, had expreſly reſerved the power of ſending aſſiſtance to the United Provinces [7].

THE republic, at preſent, ſtood much in need of ſupport. Philip III. now ſenſible that the infanta, could

5. Grotius, lib. xiii. Bentivoglio, par. iii. lib. vii.
6. Le Clerc, lib. vii.
7. Winwood, vol. ii.

have

have no iſſue, and conſequently that the Netherlands must return to the crown of Spain, came to a reſolution of carrying on the war againſt the revolted provinces with the whole force of his dominions. Large levies were made for that purpoſe, large ſums were remitted to the Low Countries, and Spinola was there declared commander in chief of the Spaniſh and Italian forces. LETTER LXXI. A. D. 1604. A. D. 1605.

THE States ſaw their danger, and endeavoured to provide againſt it. They impowered prince Maurice to augment his army; they recruited their garriſons, repaired their fortifications, and every where prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance. Spinola expected it, but was not diſcouraged: and his ſucceſs was rapid for two campaigns, in ſpite of all the efforts of Maurice. But although he had made himſelf maſter of many important places, he had yet made no impreſſion on the body of the republic; and three hundred thouſand doubloons a month, the common expence of the army, was a ſum too large for the Spaniſh treaſury long to diſburſe, and a drain which not even the mines of Mexico and Peru could ſupply. His troops mutinied for want of pay. He became ſenſible of the impracticability of his undertaking, and delivered it as his opinion, That it was more adviſable to enjoy the ten provinces in peace and ſecurity, than to riſk the loſs of the whole Netherlands in purſuit of the other ſeven, and ruin Spain by a hazardous attempt to conquer rebel ſubjects, who had too long taſted the ſweets of liberty, ever again to bear with eaſe the ſhackles of monarchy and abſolute dominion [8]. A. D. 1606.

THE court of Madrid was already convinced of the neceſſity of an accommodation; the archduke was hear-

8. Bentivoglio.

PART I. A. D. 1606. tily tired of the war; and the ſentiments of the general had great influence on both the Spaniſh and Flemiſh councils. If the duke of Parma had failed to reduce the Seven Provinces, and Spinola gave up the attempt, who, it was aſked, could hope to ſubdue them?—As there was no anſwering ſuch a queſtion, it was agreed, though not without many ſcruples, to negociate with the Belgian republic, as an independent ſtate. A ſuſpenſion of arms A. D. 1607. accordingly took place; conferences were opened; and, after numberleſs obſtructions and delays, interpoſed by the Orange faction, whoſe intereſt it was to continue the war, a truce of twelve years was concluded at the A. D. 1609. Hague, through the mediation of France and England [9]. This treaty ſecured to the United Provinces all the acquiſitions they had made, freedom of commerce with the dominions of Philip and the archduke, on the ſame footing with other foreign nations, and the full enjoyment of thoſe civil and religious liberties for which they had ſo glorioufly ſtruggled [10].

SCARCE had the court of Spain finiſhed one civil war, occaſioned by perſecution, when it plunged into another. Philip III. at the inſtigation of the inquiſition, and by the advice of his miniſter, the duke of Lerma, no leſs weak than himſelf, iſſued an edict, ordering all the Moreſcoes, or deſcendants of the Moors, to leave the kingdom within the ſpace of thirty days, under the penalty of death. Theſe remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were chiefly employed in commerce and agriculture; and the principal reaſon aſſigned for this barbarous decree was, That they were ſtill Mahometans in their hearts, though they conformed outwardly to the rites of Chriſtianity, and therefore might corrupt the true faith, as well as diſturb the peace of the ſtate.

9. Grotius. Bentivoglio. Winwood. 10. Grotius, lib. xvii.

Perſecution

Perſecution prompted them to undertake what they had hitherto ſhewed no diſpoſition to attempt. They choſe themſelves a king, and endeavoured to oppoſe the execution of the royal mandate; but being almoſt utterly unprovided with arms, they were ſoon obliged to ſubmit, and all baniſhed the kingdom [11].

By this violent and impolitic meaſure, Spain loſt near a million of induſtrious inhabitants [12]; and as that kingdom was already depopulated by long and bloody foreign wars, by repeated emigrations to the New World, and enervated by luxury, it now ſunk into a ſtate of languor, out of which it has never ſince fully recovered. The remembrance of its former ſtrength, however, ſtill made it terrible; and aſſociations were formed for reſtraining the exorbitant power of Spain, after Spain had ceaſed to be powerful.

11. Fonſeca, *Trayeion de Moreſcos.* 12. Geddes, *Hiſt. Expulſ. Moreſc.*

PART I.

LETTER LXXII.

The domeſtic Hiſtory of ENGLAND, *from the Defeat of the* SPANISH ARMADA, *in* 1588, *to the Death of* ELIZABETH, *with ſome Particulars of* SCOTLAND *and* IRELAND.

LETTER LXXII.

A. D. 1588.

THE execution of the queen of Scots, and the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada, freed Elizabeth from all apprehenſions in regard to the ſafety of her crown. What part ſhe took in the affairs of France and of the United Provinces, and what attempts ſhe made by naval armaments to annoy the Catholic king, we have already ſeen. We muſt now, my dear Philip, take a view of her domeſtic policy, and her domeſtic troubles; and of her tranſactions with Scotland and Ireland, from this great æra of her guilt and of her glory to that of her death, which left vacant the throne of England to the houſe of Stuart.

THE leading characteriſtics of Elizabeth's adminiſtration were œconomy and vigour. By a ſtrict attention to the firſt, ſhe was enabled to maintain a magnificent court, and to ſupport the perſecuted proteſtants in France and the Low Countries, without oppreſſing her people, or involving the crown in debt; and by a ſpirited exertion of the ſecond, ſhe humbled the pride of Spain, and gave ſtability to her throne, in ſpite of all the machinations of her enemies. After informing her parliament

A. D. 1593. of the neceſſity of continuing the war againſt Philip, and how little ſhe dreaded the power of that monarch, even though he ſhould make a greater effort than that of his Invincible Armada, ſhe concluded thus:—"But I "am informed, that when he attempted this laſt inva-

"ſion,

"ſion, ſome upon the ſea-coaſt forſook their towns, "fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and "expoſed to his entrance—but I ſwear unto you, by "God! if I knew thoſe perſons, or may know of any "that ſhall do ſo hereafter, I will make them feel what "it is to be fearful in ſo urgent a cauſe [1]."

ELIZABETH's frugality, in the adminiſtration of government, ſeems leſs, however, to have proceeded from lenity to her people, than from a fear of bringing herſelf under the power of the commons by the neceſſity of ſoliciting larger ſupplies, and thereby endangering her royal prerogative, of which ſhe was always remarkably jealous, and which ſhe exerciſed with a high hand. Numberleſs inſtances of this occur during her reign. Beſides erecting the Court of High Commiſſion, which was veſted with almoſt inquiſitorial powers, and ſupporting the arbitrary decrees of the Star Chamber, ſhe granted to her ſervants and courtiers patents for monopolies, which put invincible reſtraints upon all commerce, induſtry, and emulation in the arts, and enabled thoſe who poſſeſſed them, to raiſe commodities to what price they pleaſed. Salt, in particular, was raiſed from ſixteen pence a buſhel, to fourteen or fifteen ſhillings [2], and ſeveral other articles in proportion. Almoſt all the neceſſaries of life were thus monopolized; which made a certain member cry out ironically, when the liſt was read over in the houſe, "Is not bread among the number?"

THESE grievances were frequently complained of in parliament, but more eſpecially by the *Puritans*: a religious ſect who maintained, as the name imports, that the church of England was not yet ſufficiently purged

1. D'Ewes, *Journal of Parliament.* 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid.

PART I. from the errors of popery, and who carried the ſame bold ſpirit that dictated their theological opinions, into their political ſpeculations. But ſuch complaints were made at the peril of the members, who were frequently committed to cuſtody for undue liberty of ſpeech; and all motions to remove thoſe enormous grievances were ſuppreſſed, as attempts to invade the royal prerogative. The queen herſelf, by meſſages to the houſe, frequently admoniſhed the commons, "Not to meddle with "what nowiſe belonged to them (matters of ſtate or "religion), and what did not lie within the compaſs of "their underſtanding;" and ſhe warned them, "ſince "neither her commands, nor the example of their wiſer "brethren, (thoſe devoted to the court) could reclaim "their audacious, arrogant, and preſumptuous folly, "that ſome other ſpecies of correction muſt be found "for them[4]."

THESE meſſages were patiently received by the majority of the houſe. Nay, it was aſſerted, "That the "royal prerogative was not to be canvaſſed nor diſ-"puted, nor examined, and did not even admit of any "limitation; that abſolute princes, ſuch as the ſove-"reigns of England, were a ſpecies of divinity; that "it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by "laws or ſtatutes, ſince by her diſpenſing power, ſhe "could looſen herſelf at pleaſure[5]!"—But the Puritans, who alone poſſeſſed any juſt ſentiments of freedom, and who employed all their induſtry to be elected into parliament, ſtill hazarded the utmoſt indignation of Elizabeth, in vindicating the natural rights of mankind. They continued to keep alive that precious ſpark of liberty which they had rekindled; and which, burn-

4. D'Ewes, ubi ſup. 5. Ibid.

ing

ing fiercer from confinement, broke out into a blaze under the two ſucceeding reigns, and agitated, but not ſmothered by oppoſition, conſumed the church and monarchy; from whoſe aſhes, like the fabled Phœnix, ſingly to arreſt the admiration of ages, ſprung our preſent glorious and happy conſtitution.

AMONG the ſubjects which Elizabeth prohibited the parliament from taking into conſideration, was the ſucceſſion to the crown. But as all danger from a rival claim had expired with the queen of Scots, a motion was made by Peter Wentworth, a Puritan, for petitioning her Majeſty to fix the ſucceſſion; which, though in itſelf ſufficiently reſpectful, incenſed the queen to ſuch a degree, that ſhe ordered Wentworth to be ſent to the Tower, and all the members who ſeconded him to the Fleet [6]. Her malignity againſt Mary ſeems to have ſettled upon her ſon James; for ſhe not only continued to avoid acknowledging him as her ſucceſſor, though a peaceable and unaſpiring prince, but refuſed to aſſiſt him in ſuppreſſing a conſpiracy of ſome catholic noblemen, in conjunction with the king of Spain, their common enemy [7]. She endeavoured to keep him in perpetual dependence, by bribing his miniſters, or fomenting diſcontents among his ſubjects; and ſhe appears to have been at the bottom of a conſpiracy, afterwards formed by the earl of Gowrie, for ſeizing the king's perſon [8]; though not, as commonly ſuppoſed, with a deſign to take away his life.

MEANWHILE Elizabeth's attention was much occupied by the affairs of Ireland, where the Engliſh ſovereignty had hitherto been little more than nominal. The

6. Ibid. 7. Spotſwood. 8. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* vol. ii.

Iriſh

PART I. Iriſh princes and nobles, divided among themſelves, readily paid the exterior marks of obedience to a power which they were not able to reſiſt; but, as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in ſubmiſſion, they ſtill relapſed into their former ſtate of barbarous independency. Other reaſons conſpired to prevent a cordial union. The ſmall army, which was maintained in Ireland, never being regularly paid, the officers were obliged to give their ſoldiers the privilege of free quarters upon the natives. Rapine and inſolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered; and that, together with the old oppoſition of manners, laws, and intereſts, was now heightened by religious animoſity, the Iriſh being ſtill catholics, and in a great meaſure ſavages [9].

THE romantic and impolitic project of the Engliſh princes for ſubduing France, occaſioned this inattention to the affairs of Ireland; a conqueſt pregnant with many ſolid advantages, and infinitely more ſuited to their condition. Elizabeth early ſaw the importance of that iſland, and took ſeveral meaſures for reducing it to a ſtate of greater order and ſubmiſſion. Beſides furniſhing her deputies, or governors of Ireland, with a greater force, ſhe founded an univerſity in Dublin, with a view of introducing arts and learning into that capital and kingdom, and of civilizing the barbarous manners of the people [10]. But unhappily Sir John Perrot, in 1585, being then lord deputy, put arms into the hands of the inhabitants of Ulſter, in order to enable them, without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh government, to repreſs the incurſions of the Scottiſh iſlanders; and Philip II. having, about the ſame time, engaged many of the Iriſh

9. Spenſer's *Account of Ireland.* 10. Sir John Davies. Camden.

gentry

gentry to ſerve in his armies in the Low Countries, Ireland thus provided both with officers and ſoldiers, with diſcipline and arms, was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war, and became more formidable to England.

HUGH O'NEALE, the head of a potent clan, had been raiſed by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but preferring the pride of barbarous licence and dominion, to the pleaſures of opulence and tranquillity, he ſecretly fomented the diſcontents of his countrymen, and formed the project of rendering himſelf independent. Truſting however to the influence of his deceitful oaths and proteſtations, as he was not yet ſufficiently prepared, he ſurrendered himſelf into the hands of Sir William Ruſſel, who had been appointed the queen's deputy in Ireland; and being diſmiſſed, in conſequence of theſe proteſtations of his pacific diſpoſition, and retiring into his own country, he embraced the daring reſolution of riſing in open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity and imprudence of his enemies. His ſucceſs exceeded his moſt ſanguine hopes. After amuſing Sir John Norris, ſent over to reduce him to obedience, with treacherous promiſes and propoſals of accommodation, by means of which the war was ſpun out for ſome years, he defeated the Engliſh army under Sir Henry Bagnal, who had ſucceeded to the command on the death of the gallant Norris, and who was left dead on the field, together with fifteen hundred men [11]. A. D. 1594

THIS victory, which mightily animated the courage of the Iriſh, and raiſed the reputation of Tyrone, who now aſſumed the name of Deliverer of his Country, made Elizabeth ſenſible of the neceſſity of

11. Ibid.

puſh-

PART I. A. D. 1599.

puſhing the war by more vigorous meaſures. And ſhe appointed, at his own requeſt, her reigning favourite the earl of Eſſex, ever ambitious of military fame, governor of Ireland, under the title of Lord Lieutenant; veſted him with powers almoſt unlimited; and, in order to inſure him ſucceſs againſt the rebels, ſhe levied an army of ſixteen thouſand foot and thirteen hundred horſe. But Eſſex, unacquainted with the country, and miſled by intereſted counſels, diſappointed the expectations of the queen and the nation; and fearing the total alienation of her affections, by the artifices of his enemies, he embraced the raſh reſolution of returning home, expreſsly contrary to her orders, and arrived at court before any one was apprized of his intentions [12].

THE ſudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite, whoſe impatience carried him to her bedchamber, where he threw himſelf at her feet, and kiſſed her hand, at firſt diſarmed the reſentment of Elizabeth. She was incapable, in that moment of ſoft ſurprize, of treating him with ſeverity: hence Eſſex was induced to ſay, on retiring, he thanked God, that though he had ſuffered much trouble, and many ſtorms abroad, he found a ſweet calm at home [13].

ELIZABETH, however, had no ſooner leiſure for recollection, than her diſpleaſure returned. All Eſſex's faults again took poſſeſſion of her mind, and ſhe thought it neceſſary, by ſome ſevere diſcipline, to ſubdue that haughty and imperious ſpirit, which preſuming on her partiality and indulgence, had ventured to diſregard her inſtructions, and diſobey her commands. She ordered him to be confined; and, by a decree of the privy council, he was deprived of all his employments, except that

A. D. 1600.

12. Winwood, vol. i.

13. *Sydney Letters*, vol. ii.

of

of Maſter of the Horſe, and ſentenced to remain a priſoner during her majeſty's pleaſure.

HUMBLED by this ſentence, but ſtill truſting to the queen's tenderneſs, Eſſex wrote to her, that he kiſſed her majeſty's hands, and the rod with which ſhe had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted chearfulneſs, till ſhe deigned to admit him to that preſence, which had ever been the chief ſource of his happineſs and enjoyment. He had now reſolved, he added, to make amends for his paſt errors; to retire into a rural ſolitude, and ſay with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beaſts of the field, let "me eat graſs as an ox, and be wet with the dew of "heaven, till it ſhall pleaſe the queen to reſtore me to "my underſtanding[14]."

ELIZABETH, who had always declared to the world, and even to Eſſex himſelf, that the purpoſe of her ſeverity was to correct, not to ruin him, was much pleaſed with theſe ſentiments; and replied, that ſhe heartily wiſhed his actions might correſpond with his expreſſions. Every one expected that he would ſoon be reſtored to his former degree of credit and favour; nay, as is uſual in reconciliations proceeding from tenderneſs, that he would acquire an additional aſcendant over his fond miſtreſs. But Eſſex's enemies, by whom ſhe was continually ſurrounded, found means to perſuade the queen, that his lofty ſpirit was not yet ſufficiently ſubdued; and, as a farther trial of his ſubmiſſion, ſhe refuſed to renew a patent, which he poſſeſſed for a monopoly of ſweet wines. She even accompanied her refuſal with an inſult. "An ungovernable beaſt," added ſhe, "muſt be ſtinted in his provinder[15]."

14. Camden.

15. Ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1600.

ESSEX, who had with difficulty reſtrained his proud heart ſo long, and whoſe patience was now exhauſted, imagining, from this freſh inſtance of ſeverity, that the queen was become inexorable, gave full rein to his violent diſpoſition, and threw off all appearance of duty and reſpect. Already high in the public favour, he practiſed anew every art of popularity. He indulged himſelf in great liberties of ſpeech; particularly in regard to the queen's perſon, which was ſtill an object of her vanity, and on which ſhe allowed herſelf to be complimented, though approaching to her ſeventieth year. And what was, if poſſible, ſtill more mortifying to Elizabeth, he made ſecret applications to the king of Scotland, her heir and preſumptive ſucceſſor, offering to extort an immediate declaration in his favour [16].

BUT James, although ſufficiently deſirous of ſecuring the ſucceſſion of England, and though he had negociated with all the courts of Europe, in order to procure ſupport to his hereditary title, did not approve of the violent means which Eſſex propoſed to employ for that end. His natural timidity of temper made him averſe againſt any bold expedient; and he was afraid, if the attempt ſhould fail, that Elizabeth might be induced to take ſome extraordinary ſtep to his prejudice. Eſſex, however, continued to make uſe of that prince's claim, as a colour for his rebellious projects. A ſelect council of malecontents was formed; and it was agreed to ſeize the palace, to oblige the queen to remove all Eſſex's enemies, to call a parliament, and to ſettle the ſucceſſion, together with a new plan of government [17].

A. D. 1601. ELIZABETH had ſome intimation of theſe deſperate reſolutions. Eſſex was ſummoned to attend the coun-

16. Birch's *Mem.* vol. ii. 17. Camden.

cil;

cil; but he received a private note, which warned him to provide for his ſafety. He concluded that all his conſpiracy was diſcovered; excuſed himſelf to the council, on account of a pretended indiſpoſition; and as he judged it impracticable to ſeize the palace without more preparations, he ſallied forth, at the head of about two hundred followers, and attempted to raiſe the city. But the citizens, though much attached to his perſon, ſhewed no diſpoſition to join him. In vain did he tell them, that his life was in danger, and that England was ſold to the Spaniards. They flocked about him in amazement, but remained ſilent and inactive: and Eſſex, deſpairing of ſucceſs, retreated with difficulty to his own houſe. There he ſeemed determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, and rather to die, like a brave man, with his ſword in his hand, than ignominiouſly by the hands of the executioner; but, after ſome parley, his reſolution failed him, and he ſurrendered at diſcretion [18].

LETTER LXXII. A.D. 1601.

ORDERS were immediately given for the trial of Eſſex, and the moſt conſiderable of the other conſpirators. Their guilt was too notorious to admit of any doubt, and ſentence was pronounced accordingly. The queen, who had behaved with the utmoſt compoſure during the inſurrection, now appeared all agitation and irreſolution. The unhappy condition of Eſſex awakened her fondneſs afreſh: reſentment and affection ſhared her breaſt by turns; the care of her own ſafety, and concern for her favourite. She ſigned the warrant for his execution, ſhe countermanded it: ſhe again reſolved on his death, ſhe felt a new return of tenderneſs. She waited impatiently for the interceſſion of a friend, to whom ſhe might yield that forgiveneſs, which of her-

18. Ibid.

ſelf

PART I. A. D. 1601.

ſelf ſhe was aſhamed to grant. No ſuch friend appeared: and Elizabeth, imagining this ungrateful neglect to proceed from Eſſex's haughtineſs; from a pride of ſpirit, which diſdained to ſolicit her clemency, at laſt permitted the ſentence to be put in execution [19]. He was privately beheaded in the Tower, to prevent the danger of a popular inſurrection.

SUCH was the untimely fate of Robert d'Evreux, earl of Eſſex. Brave, generous, affable, incapable of diſguiſing his own ſentiments or of miſrepreſenting thoſe of others, he poſſeſſed the rare felicity of being at once the favourite of his ſovereign, and the darling of the people. But this ſo fortunate circumſtance proved the cauſe of his deſtruction. Confident of the queen's partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtineſs, which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and, when his raſhneſs, imprudence, and violence, had expoſed him to her reſentment, he hoped, by means of his popularity, to make her ſubmit to his imperious will. But the attachment of the people to his perſon was not ſtrong enough to ſhake their allegiance to the throne. He ſaw his miſtake, though too late: and his death was accompanied with many circumſtances of the moſt humiliating penitence. But his remorſe unhappily took a wrong direction. It made him ungenerouſly publiſh the name of every one to whom he had communicated his treaſonable deſigns [20]. He debaſed his character, in attempting to make his peace with Heaven; and, after all, it is much to be queſtioned, whatever he might imagine in thoſe moments of affliction, whether in bewailing his crimes, he did not ſecretly mourn his diſappointed ambition, and in naming his accomplices hope to appeaſe his

19. Birch. Bacon. Camden. 20. Winwood, ubi ſup.

LETTER LXXII.

A. D. 1601.

ſovereign. But however that might be, it is ſincerely to be lamented, that a perſon poſſeſſed of ſo many noble virtues, ſhould have involved, not only himſelf, but many of his friends in ruin.

THE king of Scotland, who had a great regard for Eſſex, though he rejected his violent counſels, no ſooner heard of his criminal and unſucceſsful enterpriſe, than he ſent two ambaſſadors to the court of England, in order to intercede for his life, as well as to congratulate the queen on her eſcape from the late inſurrection and conſpiracy. But theſe envoys arrived too late to execute the firſt part of their inſtructions, and therefore prudently concealed it. Elizabeth received them with all poſſible marks of reſpect; and, during their reſidence in England, they found the diſpoſitions of men as favourable as they could wiſh to the Scottiſh ſucceſſion. They even entered into a private correſpondence with ſecretary Cecil, ſon of the late lord treaſurer Burleigh, whoſe influence, after the fall of Eſſex, was uncontrouled [21]. That profound courtier thought it prudent to acquire, by this policy, the confidence of a prince, who might ſoon become his maſter: and James, having gained the man whoſe oppoſition he had hitherto chiefly feared, waited in perfect ſecurity till time ſhould bring about that event, which would open his way to the Engliſh throne [22].

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in Britain, lord Mountjoy, who ſucceeded Eſſex in Ireland, had reſtored the queen's authority in that kingdom. He defeated the rebels near Kinſale, though ſupported by ſix thouſand Spaniards, whom he expelled the iſland; and many of the chieftains, after ſkulking for ſome time in the woods

A. D. 1602.

21. Oſborne.

22. Spotſwood.

PART I. A. D. 1603.

and moraſſes, ſubmitted to mercy, and received ſuch conditions as the deputy was pleaſed to preſcribe. Even Tyrone petitioned for terms; which being denied him, he was obliged to throw himſelf on the queen's clemency [23].

BUT Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any pleaſure from this fortunate concluſion of a war, which had long occupied her councils, exhauſted her treaſury, and diſturbed her domeſtic peace. Though in her ſeventieth year, ſhe had hitherto enjoyed a good ſtate of health; but the infirmities of old age at length began to ſteal upon her, and with them that depreſſion of ſpirits by which they are naturally accompanied. She had no offspring to inherit her extenſive dominions: no ſon, no daughter, to whom ſhe could tranſmit her ſceptre, and the glories of her illuſtrious reign; no object of affection to alleviate her ſorrows, or on whom ſhe could repoſe her increaſing cares. There lay the ſource of her moſt dangerous diſeaſe. A deep melancholy, which nothing could diſſipate, and which rendered her dead to every human ſatisfaction, had ſettled on her mind.

ESSEX, as I have already obſerved, had been conſigned to the executioner ſolely on a ſuſpicion that the obſtinacy and haughtineſs of his ſpirit, ſtill diſdaining ſubmiſſion, would not permit him to implore the queen's clemency. His criminal deſigns would have been forgiven, as the extravagancies of a great ſoul, but his want of confidence in the affection of an indulgent miſtreſs, or his ſullen contempt of her mercy, were unpardonable. His enemies knew it: they took advantage of it, to haſten his deſtruction; and his friends

23. Camden.

were

were afraid to interpoſe, leſt they ſhould be repreſented as the abettors of his treaſon. But no ſooner was the fatal blow ſtruck, than fear and envy being laid aſleep, his merits were univerſally confeſſed. Even his ſentiments of duty and loyalty were extolled. Elizabeth became ſenſible ſhe had been deceived, and lamented her raſhneſs, in ſacrificing a man on whoſe life her happineſs depended. His memory became daily more dear to her, and ſhe ſeldom mentioned his name without tears[24]. Other circumſtances conſpired to heighten her regret. Her courtiers having no longer the ſuperior favour of Eſſex to dread, grew leſs reſpectful and aſſiduous in their attendance, and all men deſirous of preferment ſeemed to look forward to her ſucceſſor. The people caught the temper of the court: the queen went abroad without the uſual acclamations. And as a farther cauſe of uneaſineſs, ſhe had been prevailed on contrary to her moſt ſolemn declarations and reſolutions, to pardon Tyrone, whoſe rebellion had created her ſo much trouble, and whom ſhe regarded as the remote cauſe of all her favourite's misfortunes. An unexpected diſcovery completed her ſorrow, and rendered her melancholy mortal.

LETTER LXXII. A.D. 1603.

WHILE Eſſex was in high favour with Elizabeth, ſhe had given him a ring as a pledge of her affection; and accompanied it with a promiſe, that into whatever diſgrace he might fall, or whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced, by his enemies, to entertain againſt him, on producing that ring, he might depend on her forgiveneſs. This precious gift he had reſerved for the final extremity. All his misfortunes had not been able to draw it from him; but after his condemnation, he reſolved to try its efficacy, and committed it to the counteſs of Nottingham, in order to be delivered to the

24. Birch's *Mem.* vol. ii.

PART I. A. D. 1603.

queen. The counteſs communicated the matter to her huſband, one of Eſſex's moſt implacable enemies, who perſuaded her to act an atrocious part; neither to deliver the ring to the queen nor return it to the earl. Elizabeth, who had anxiouſly expected that laſt appeal to her tenderneſs, imputed an omiſſion, occaſioned by the counteſs's treachery, to the diſdainful pride of her favourite; and ſhe was chiefly induced, by the reſentment ariſing from that idea, to ſign the warrant for his execution [25].

CONSCIENCE diſcovered what it could not prevent. The counteſs of Nottingham falling ill, and finding her end faſt approaching, was ſeized with remorſe on account of her perfidy. She deſired to ſee the queen, in order to reveal to her a ſecret, without diſcloſing which, ſhe could not die in peace. When the queen entered her apartment, ſhe preſented the fatal ring; related the purpoſe for which ſhe had received it, and begged forgiveneſs. All Elizabeth's affection returned, and all her rage was rouſed. "God may forgive you," cried ſhe, "but I never can!" ſhaking the dying counteſs in her bed, and ruſhing out of the room [26].

FEW and miſerable, after this diſcovery, were the days of Elizabeth. Her ſpirit left her, and exiſtence itſelf ſeemed a burden. She rejected all conſolation: ſhe would ſcarcely taſte food, and refuſed every kind of medicine, declaring that ſhe wiſhed to die, and would live no longer. She could not even be prevailed on to go to bed; but threw herſelf on the carpet, where ſhe remained, penſive and ſilent, during ten days and nights, leaning on cuſhions, and holding her finger almoſt continually in her mouth, with her eyes open, and fixed upon the ground. Her ſighs, her groans, were

25. Birch's *Memoirs and Negociations.* 26. Id. ibid.

all

all expreſſive of ſome inward grief, which ſhe cared not to utter, and which preyed upon her life. At laſt, her death being viſibly approaching, the privy council ſent to know her will, in regard to her ſucceſſor. She anſwered with a feeble voice, that as ſhe had held a regal ſceptre, ſhe deſired no other than a royal ſucceſſor; and on Cecil's deſiring her to explain herſelf, ſhe ſaid, "who "ſhould that be but my neareſt kinſman, the king of "Scots?" She expired ſoon after, without a ſtruggle, her body being totally waſted by anguiſh and abſtinence [27]. LETTER LXXII. A. D. 1603.

HISTORY does not afford a more ſtriking leſſon on the unſubſtantial nature of human greatneſs than in the cloſe of this celebrated reign. Few ſovereigns ever ſwayed a ſceptre with more dignity than Elizabeth: few have enjoyed more uniform proſperity, and none could be more beloved by their people; yet this great princeſs, after all her glory and popularity, lived to fall into neglect, and ſunk to the grave beneath the preſſure of a private grief, accompanied by circumſtances of diſtreſs, which the wretch on the torture might pity, and which the ſlave who expires at the oar does not feel. But the reign of Elizabeth yields other leſſons. It ſhews

27. Camden. Birch. Strype. In this account of the death of Elizabeth, I have differed, in ſome particulars, from the crowd of hiſtorians. But, in conformity with general teſtimony, I have mentioned her *nomination* of the king of Scotland as her ſucceſſor; yet a reſpectable eye and ear witneſs tells us, That ſhe was *ſpeechleſs* before the *queſtion* relative to the *ſucceſſion* was *propoſed* by the privy council. He candidly adds, however, "that by putting her hand to her head, when the "king of Scots was named to ſucced her, *they all knew He was the man "ſhe deſired ſhould reign after her.*" (*Memoirs of the Life of Robert Carey Earl of Monmouth*, written by himſelf, p. 141.) The late John earl of Corke, the editor of Carey's Memoirs, gives a leſs liberal interpretation of this ſign: he ſuppoſes it to have been the effect of pain. *Preſ.* p. x.

PART I. A. D. 1603.

us to what a degree of wealth and conſequence a nation may be raiſed in a few years, by a wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration: and what powerful efforts may be made by a brave and united people, in repelling or annoying an enemy, how ſuperior ſoever in force.

THE character of Elizabeth herſelf has been too often drawn to admit of any new feature, and is beſt delineated in her conduct. To all the perſonal jealouſy, the coquetry, and little vanities of a woman, ſhe united the ſound underſtanding and firm ſpirit of a man. A greater ſhare of feminine ſoftneſs might have made her more agreeable as a wife or a miſtreſs, though not a better queen; but a leſs inſidious policy would have reflected more luſtre on her adminiſtration, and a leſs rigid frugality, on ſome occaſions, would have given more ſucceſs to her arms. But as ſhe was, and as ſhe acted, ſhe muſt be allowed to have been one of the greateſt ſovereigns that ever filled a throne, and may perhaps be conſidered as the moſt illuſtrious female that ever did honour to humanity.

LETTER LXXIII.

FRANCE, *from the Peace of* VERVINS, *in* 1598, *to the Death of* HENRY IV. *in* 1610, *with ſome Account of the Affairs of* GERMANY, *under* RODOLPH II.

LETTER LXXIII. A. D. 1598.

NO kingdom, exempt from the horrors of war, could be more wretched than France, at the peace of Vervins. The crown was loaded with debts and penſions; the country barren and deſolated; the people poor and miſerable; and the nobility, from a long habit of rebellion, rapine, and diſorder, had loſt all ſenſe of juſtice, allegiance, or legal ſubmiſſion. They had been accuſtomed to ſet at naught the authority of the prince, to invade the royal prerogative, and to ſport with the lives and property of the people.

HAPPILY France was favoured with a king, equally able and willing to remedy all theſe evils. Henry IV. to a ſincere regard for the welfare of his ſubjects, added a ſound head and bold heart. His ſuperiority in arms, to which he had been habituated from his moſt early years, gave him great ſway with all men of the military profeſſion; and his magnanimity, gallantry, and gaiety, recommended him to the nobility in general; while his known vigour and promptitude, together with the love of his people, curbed the more factious ſpirits, or enabled him to cruſh them before their deſigns were ripe for execution.

BUT to form a regular plan of adminiſtration, and to purſue it with ſucceſs, amid ſo many dangers and difficulties, required more than the wiſdom of one head, and the firmneſs of one heart. Henry ſtood in need of an able and upright miniſter, on whom he

PART I. might devolve the more ordinary cares of government, and with whom he might conſult on the moſt important matters of ſtate. Such an aſſiſtant he found in his favourite, the marquis de Roſni, whom he created duke of Sully, in order to give more weight to his authority.

SULLY ſeemed formed to be the miniſter of Henry IV. Equally brave in the field, and penetrating in the cabinet, he poſſeſſed more coolneſs and perſeverance than that great prince, whoſe volatility and quickneſs of thought did not permit him to attend long to any one object [1]. Attached to his maſter's perſon by friendſhip, and to his intereſt and the public good by principle, he employed himſelf with the moſt indefatigable induſtry, to reſtore the dignity of the crown, without giving umbrage to the nobility, or treſpaſſing on the rights of the people. His firſt care was the finances; and it is inconceivable in how little time he drew the moſt exact order out of that chaos, in which they had been involved by his predeceſſors. He made the king perfectly maſter of his own affairs; digeſting the whole ſyſtem of the finances into tables, by the help of which Henry could ſee, almoſt at a ſingle glance, all the different branches of his revenue and expenditure. He levied taxes in the ſhorteſt and moſt frugal manner poſſible; for he held, that every man ſo employed was a citizen loſt to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He diminiſhed all the expences of government; but, at the ſame time, paid every one punctually, and took care that the king ſhould always have ſuch a reſerve, as not to be obliged, on any emergency, either to lay new impoſitions on his people, or to make uſe of credit [2]. By theſe prudent meaſures, he paid in the

1. Mezeray. 2. Thuanus.

ſpace

ſpace of five years all the debts of the crown; augmented the revenue four millions of livres, had four millions in the treaſury, and had conſiderably reduced the taxes [3].

SULLY's attention, however, was not confined merely to the finances. He had the moſt ſound notions of policy and legiſlation; and he endeavoured to convert them into practice. "If I had a principle to eſtabliſh," ſays he, "it would be this: *that good morals and good laws* "*are reciprocally formed by each other.*" No obſervation can be more juſt, or of more importance to ſociety: for if the government neglect the manners, a relaxation of manners will lead to a neglect of the laws; and the evil will go on, always increaſing, until the community arrive at the higheſt degree of corruption, when it muſt reform or go to ruin. "Hence," adds Sully, "in "the affairs of men, the exceſs of evil is always the "ſource of good [4]." In conſequence of this mode of thinking, he co-operated warmly with the king's wiſhes, in reſtoring order and juſtice throughout all parts of his dominions, and in getting ſuch laws enacted as were farther neceſſary for that purpoſe.

BUT Sully's maxims, though in general excellent, were better ſuited in ſome reſpects to a poor and ſmall republic, than to a great and wealthy monarchy. Senſible that a fertile country, well cultivated, is the principal ſource of the happineſs of a people, and the moſt ſolid foundation of national proſperity, he gave great encouragement to agriculture. But the auſterity of his principles made him an enemy to all manufactures connected with luxury, although it is evident that a proſperous people will poſſeſs themſelves of ſuch manufactures; and

3. *Mem. de Sulli*, tom. iv. 4. Id. ibid.

that,

PART I. that, if they cannot fabricate them, they muſt be purchaſed from foreigners with the precious metals, or with the common produce of the ſoil, which might otherwiſe be employed in the maintenance of uſeful artizans.

HENRY himſelf, whoſe ideas were more liberal, though generally leſs accurate than thoſe of his miniſter, had juſter notions of this matter. He accordingly
A. D. 1602. introduced the culture and the manufacture of ſilk, contrary to the opinion of Sully: and the ſucceſs was anſwerable to his expectations. Before his death, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee that manufacture, not only ſupply the home-conſumption, but bring more money into the kingdom than any of the former ſtaple commodities [5].

HENRY alſo eſtabliſhed, at great expence, manu-
A. D. 1607. factures of linen and tapeſtry. The workmen for the firſt he drew from the United Provinces; for the laſt, from the Spaniſh Netherlands. He gave high wages and good ſettlements to all [6]. Hence his ſucceſs. He was ſenſible, that induſtrious people would not leave their native country without the temptation of large profit; and that after they had left it, and become rich, they would be inclined to return, in order to enjoy the company of their friends and fellow-citizens, unleſs fixed by ſuch advantages as ſhould over-balance that deſire. In order to facilitate commerce, and promote the conveniency of his ſubjects, he built the Pont-Neuf, and cut the canal of Briare, which joins the Seine and the Loire; and he had projected the junction of the two ſeas, when a period was put to his life, and with that to all his other great deſigns.

5. Sir G. Carew's *Relation of the State of France under Henry IV.*
6. P. Matthieu.

IN

LETTER LXXIII.

In the proſecution of theſe wiſe and ſalutary meaſures, which raiſed France from the deſolation and miſery in which ſhe was involved, to a more flouriſhing condition than ſhe had ever enjoyed, Henry met with a variety of obſtructions, proceeding from a variety of cauſes. A heart too ſuſceptible of tender impreſſions was continually engaging him in new amours, deſtructive at once of his domeſtic peace and of the public tranquillity: and, what is truly extraordinary in a man of gallantry, the laſt attachment appeared always to be the ſtrongeſt. His ſenſibility, inſtead of being blunted, ſeemed only to become keener by the change of objects. Scarce had death relieved him from the importunities of Gabriel d'Eſtrees, whom he had created ducheſs of Beaufort, and who poſſeſſed ſuch an abſolute aſcendant over him, that he ſeemed reſolved to marry her contrary to the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors—no ſooner was he extricated from this embarraſſment, than he gave a promiſe of marriage to Henrietta d'Entragues, though not yet divorced from Margaret of Valois, his firſt queen, whoſe licentious amours had diſguſted him, though perhaps as excuſable as his own. That artful wanton had drawn this promiſe from him, before ſhe would crown his wiſhes. He ſhewed the obligation to Sully, when ready to be delivered; and that faithful ſervant, tranſported with zeal for his maſter's honour, tore it in pieces. "I believe you are "turned a fool!" ſaid Henry. "I know it," replied Sully; "and wiſh I were the only fool in France[7]."

Sully now thought himſelf out of favour for ever; and remained in that opinion, when the king ſurpriſed him, by adding to his former employments that of maſter of the ordnance. The ſentence of divorce, which Henry had long been ſolliciting at Rome, was procured in 1599; and he married, in order to pleaſe his ſubjects,

7. *Mem. de Sulli*, tom. ii.

Mary

PART I. Mary of Medicis, niece to the great duke of Tuscany. But this ſtep did not put an end to his gallantries, which continued to embroil him perpetually either with the queen or his miſtreſs, created marchioneſs of Verneuil. And Sully, whoſe good offices were always required on ſuch occaſions, often found the utmoſt difficulty in accommodating theſe amorous quarrels, which greatly agitated the mind of Henry [8].

BUT Henry's moſt alarming troubles proceeded from the intrigues of the court of Spain. By theſe the duke of Savoy was encouraged to maintain war againſt him; and, after that prince was humbled, the duke of Biron was drawn into a conſpiracy, which coſt him his head. Other conſpiracies were formed through the ſame inſtigation: the queen herſelf was induced to hold a ſecret correſpondence with Spain, and a Spaniſh faction began to appear in the king's councils [9]. A. D. 1608.

THOSE continued attempts to diſturb the peace of his kingdom, and ſap the foundations of his throne, made Henry reſolve to carry into execution a deſign, which he had long meditated, of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, and circumſcribing its power in Italy and Germany. While he was maturing that great project, a diſpute concerning the ſucceſſion to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, afforded him a pretext for taking arms: and this circumſtance naturally leads us to caſt an eye on the ſtate of the empire.

WE have already brought down the affairs of Germany to the death of Maximilian II. His ſon, Rodolph

8. Ibid. tom. iv. lib. xxv. It was a ſatirical ſurvey of this weak ſide of Henry's character which induced the ſage Bayle to ſay, That he would have equalled the greateſt heroes of antiquity, if he had been early deprived of his virility.

9. Dupleix. Mezeray.

II. who inherited, as has been obſerved [10], the pacific diſpoſition of his father, ſucceeded him on the imperial throne in 1576; and, although more occupied about the heavens than the earth (being devoted both to aſtronomy and aſtrology, which he ſtudied under the famous Tycho Brahe), the empire during his long reign enjoyed almoſt uninterrupted tranquillity. The equity of his adminiſtration compenſated for its weakneſs. The chief diſturbances which he met with proceeded from his brother Matthias, whom we have ſeen governor of the United Provinces. The Turks, as uſual, had invaded Hungary; Matthias had been ſucceſsful in oppoſing their progreſs; and a peace being concluded, in 1606, with ſultan Achmet, ſucceſſor of Mahomet III. the Hungarians, become jealous of their religious rights, conferred their crown upon Matthias, who granted them full liberty of conſcience, with every other privilege which they could deſire [11]. Matthias afterwards became maſter of Auſtria and Moravia, on the ſame conditions: and the emperor Rodolph, ambitious only of extending the empire of ſcience, confirmed to him thoſe uſurpations, with the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Bohemia, where the Lutheran opinions had taken deep root, in order to avoid the horrors of civil war [12]. A. D. 1608.

In proportion as the reformed religion gained ground in Hungary and Bohemia, the proteſtant princes of the empire became deſirous of ſecuring and extending their privileges; and their demands being refuſed, they entered into a new confederacy, called the Evangelical Union. This aſſociation was oppoſed by another, formed to protect the ancient faith, under the name of the Catholic League. The ſucceſſion to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, rouſed to arms the heads of the two A. D. 1609.

10. Letter LXVIII. 11. Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l'Emp.* liv. iii. chap. vii. 12. Id. ibid. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. ix.

parties,

PART I. A.D. 1609.

parties, who may be ſaid to have ſlumbered ſince the peace of Paſſau.

JOHN WILLIAM, duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, having died without iſſue, ſeveral competitors, aroſe for the ſucceſſion, and the moſt powerful prepared to ſupport their title by the ſword. In order to prevent the evils which muſt have been occaſioned by ſuch violent conteſts, as well as to ſupport his own authority, the emperor cited all the claimants to appear before him, within a certain term, to explain the nature of their ſeveral pretenſions. Meanwhile he ſequeſtered the fiefs in diſpute, and ſent his couſin Leopold, in quality of governor, to take poſſeſſion of them, and to rule them in his name, till the right of inheritance ſhould be ſettled. Alarmed at this ſtep, John Sigiſmund, elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg, two of the competitors, united againſt the emperor, whom they ſuſpected of intereſted views. They were ſupported by the elector Palatine, and the other princes of the Evangelical Union, as the emperor was by the elector of Saxony, one of the claimants, and the princes of the Catholic League; and in order to be a match for their enemies, who were in alliance with the pope and the king of Spain, they appplied to the king of France [13].

HENRY, as has been obſerved, wanted only a deſcent apology for breaking openly with the houſe of Auſtria. That apology was now furniſhed him. The proteſtant envoys found him well diſpoſed to aſſiſt them: and a domeſtic event contributed to confirm his reſolution. The king was enamoured of the pri-

13. Heiſs et Barre, ubi ſup.

ceſs

LETTER LXIX.

A. D. 1609.

ceſs of Condé[14]. Her huſband, in a fit of jealouſy, carried her to Bruſſels. The archduke Albert afforded them protection, notwithſtanding a meſſage from the French court, demanding their return. This new injury, which Henry keenly felt, added to ſo many others, inflamed his rage againſt the houſe of Auſtria to the higheſt pitch; and he began inſtantly to put in motion all the wheels of that vaſt machine, which he had been conſtructing for many years, in order to erect a balance of power in Europe.

HISTORIANS are as much divided in regard to the nature of Henry's *Grand Deſign* (for ſo it is commonly called), as they are agreed about its object. The plan of a chriſtian commonwealth, as exhibited in Sully's Memoirs, by dividing Europe into fifteen aſſociated ſtates, ſeems a theory too romantic even for the viſionary brain of a ſpeculative politician: yet it is not impoſſible but Henry might, at times, amuſe his imagination with ſuch a ſplendid idea. The ſoundeſt minds have their reveries; but he never could think ſeriouſly of carrying it into execution. Perhaps he made uſe of it only as a gay covering to his real purpoſe, of pulling down the houſe of Auſtria; and

14. Henry's paſſion for that lady, of the family of Montmorency, commenced before her marriage; and he ſeems only to have connected her with the prince of Condé, in order more ſecurely to gratify his deſires. "When I firſt perceived," ſays Sully, "this growing inclination in "Henry, I uſed my utmoſt endeavours to prevent the progreſs of it, as "I foreſaw much greater inconveniences from it, than from any of his "former attachments. And although theſe endeavours proved ineffec"tual, I renewed them again, when the king propoſed to me his deſign "of marrying Mademoiſelle Montmorency to the prince of Condé; "for I had no reaſon to expect Henry would exert, in ſuch circum"ſtances, that generous ſelf-denial which ſome lovers have ſhewn them"ſelves capable of, when they have taken this method, to impoſe up"on themſelves the neceſſity of renouncing the object of a tender affec"tion." *Mem. de Sulli*, liv. xxvi.

PART I. A. D. 1609.

of making himſelf, by that means, the arbiter of Chriſtendom.

BUT whatever may have been the ſcheme, on which Henry valued himſelf ſo much, and from which he expected ſuch extraordinary conſequences, his avowed reſolution now was, to give law to the German branch of the Auſtrian family, by ſupporting the Evangelical Union. His preparations were vigorous, and his negociations ſucceſsful. The duke of Savoy, his old enemy, and the moſt politic prince in Europe, readily entered into his views. The Italian powers in general approved of his deſign, and the Swiſs and the Venetians took part in the alliance. He himſelf aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men, chiefly old troops; and a more excellent train of artillery was prepared than had ever been brought into the field. Sully aſſured him there were forty millions of livres in the treaſury; "and," added he, "if you do not increaſe your army "beyond forty thouſand, I will ſupply you with money "ſufficient for the ſupport of the war, without laying "any new tax upon your people [15]."

THE king of France propoſed to command his army in perſon, and was impatient to put himſelf at its head; but the queen, appointed regent during his abſence, inſiſted on being ſolemnly crowned before his departure. Henry, if we may believe the duke of Sully, was more diſquieted at the thoughts of this ceremony than by any thing that had ever happened to him in his life. He was not only diſpleaſed with the delay which it occaſioned, but is ſaid to have been conſcious of an inward dread; ariſing, no doubt, from the many barbarous attempts which had been made upon his perſon, the ru-

15. *Mem. de Sulli*, liv. xxvii.

mours of new conſpiracies, and the opportunity which a crowd afforded of putting them in execution. He agreed, however, to the coronation, notwithſtanding theſe apprehenſions, and even to be preſent at it. On that occaſion he eſcaped: but next day, his coach being obſtructed in a narrow ſtreet, Ravaillac, a deſperate fanatic, who had long ſought ſuch an opportunity, mounted the wheel of his carriage, and ſtabbed him to the heart with a knife, over the duke d'Eſpernon's ſhoulder, and amidſt ſix more of his courtiers. The aſſaſſin, like ſome others of that age, thought he had done an acceptable ſervice to God in committing murder; eſpecially as the king was going to aſſiſt the Proteſtants, and conſequently was ſtill a heretic in his heart. He accordingly did not offer to make his eſcape, and ſeemed much ſurpriſed at the deteſtation in which his crime was held [16]. He perſiſted to the laſt, that it was entirely his own act, and that he had no accomplice.

LETTER LXXIII. A.D. 1610.

THUS periſhed Henry IV. one of the ableſt and beſt princes that ever ſat upon the throne of France. A more melancholy reflection cannot enter the human mind than is ſuggeſted by his untimely fall; that a wretch unworthy of exiſtence, and incapable of one meritorious action, ſhould be able to obſtruct the moſt illuſtrious enterprizes, and to terminate a life neceſſary to the welfare of millions!—Henry's chief weakneſs was his inordinate paſſion for women, which led him into many irregularities. But even that was rather a blemiſh in his private, than in his public character. Though no man was more a lover, he was always a king. He never

16. Id. ibid. Perefixe. Matthieu. L'Etoile.

PART I. A.D. 1610.

suffered his mistresses to direct his councils, or to influence him in the choice of his servants. But his libertine example had unavoidably a pernicious effect upon the manners of the nation. It produced a licentious gallantry that infected all orders of men, and which his heroic qualities only could have counteracted, or prevented from degenerating into the most enervating sensuality [17]. It was productive, however, of consequences abundantly fatal. Four thousand French gentlemen are said to have been killed in single combats, chiefly arising from amorous quarrels, during the first eighteen years of Henry's reign [18]. "Having been "long habituated to the sight of blood, and prodigal "of his own," says Sully, "he could never be pre-"vailed upon strictly to enforce the laws against duel-"ing [19]."

17. *Mem. de Sulli*, liv. xxv. *Gallanteries des Rois de France.*
18. *Mem. pour servir à l'Hist. de France.*
19. *Mem.* liv. xxii.

LET-

LETTER LXXIV.

A general View of the Continent of EUROPE, *from the Aſſaſſination of* HENRY IV. *to the Treaty of* PRAGUE, *in* 1635.

LETTER LXXIV.

A. D. 1610.

THE greater part of the European continent, during the period that followed the death of Henry IV. was a ſcene of anarchy, rebellion, and bloodſhed. Germany continued for many years involved in thoſe diſputes, which he was preparing to ſettle. Religious controverſies, which generally mingle themſelves with civil affairs, diſtracted the United Provinces, and robbed them of the ſweets of that liberty, which they had ſo gallantly earned by their valour and perſeverance. And France, under the minority of Lewis XIII. and the weak regency of his mother, Mary of Medicis, returned to that ſtate of diſorder and wretchedneſs, out of which it had been raiſed by the mild and equitable, but vigorous government of Henry the Great.

THE tranſactions of this turbulent period, to the peace of Weſtphalia, when the harmony of the empire was eſtabliſhed, and tranquillity, in ſome meaſure, reſtored to Europe, I propoſe to comprehend in two extenſive ſketches; and, in order to prevent confuſion, as well as to preſerve the general effect, I ſhall be ſparing in particulars. The conſideration of the affairs of England, from the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart to the ſubverſion of the monarchy, with the grand ſtruggle between the king and parliament, and the narration of the complicated tranſactions on the continent during the reign of Lewis XIV. whoſe ambition gave birth to a ſeries of wars, intrigues, and negociations, unequalled in the hiſtory of mankind, I ſhall defer till ſome future occaſion,

PART I. occaſion, when you may be ſuppoſed to have digeſted the materials already before you; obſerving, in the
A. D. 1610. mean time, that ſoon after the peace of Weſtphalia, which may be conſidered as the foundation of all ſubſequent treaties, ſociety almoſt every where aſſumed its preſent form. I muſt begin with a view of the troubles of Germany.

THE two great confederacies, diſtinguiſhed by the names of the Catholic League and Evangelical Union, which had threatened the empire with a furious civil war, appeared to be diſſolved with the death of Henry IV. But the elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg, ſtill maintained their claim to the ſucceſſion of Cleves and Juliers; and being aſſiſted by Maurice, prince of Orange, and ſome French troops, under the marechal de la Chatre, they expelled Leopold, the ſequeſtrator, and took poſſeſſion by force of arms. They afterwards, however, diſagreed between themſelves, but were again reconciled from a ſenſe of mutual intereſt. In this petty quarrel Spain and the United Provinces intereſted themſelves, and the two greateſt generals in Europe were once more oppoſed to each other; Spinola on the part of the duke of Neuburg, who had renounced Lutheraniſm in order to procure the protection of the Catholic king, and Maurice on the ſide of the elector of Brandenburg, who introduced Calviniſm into his dominions, more ſtrongly to attach the Dutch to his cauſe [1].

A. D. 1612. MEANTIME Rodolph II. died, and was ſucceeded by his brother Matthias. The proteſtants, to whom the archduke had been very indulgent, in order to accompliſh his ambitious views, no ſooner ſaw him ſeated on

1. *Mercur. Gallo Belg.* tom. x. lib. iii.

the

the imperial throne, than they plied him with memorials, requiring an extenſion of their privileges, while the Catholics petitioned for new reſtrictions; and to complete his confuſion, the Turks entered Tranſilvania. But the extent of the Ottoman dominions, which had ſo long given alarm to Chriſtendom, on this, as well as on former occaſions, proved its ſafety. The young and ambitious Achmet, who hoped to ſignalize the beginning with his reign by the conqueſt of Hungary, was obliged to recall his forces from that quarter, to protect the eaſtern frontier of his empire; and Matthias obtained, without ſtriking a blow, a peace as advantageous as he could have expected, after the moſt ſucceſsful war. He ſtipulated for the reſtitution of Agria, Peſt, Buda, and every other place held by the Turks in Hungary [2]. A. D. 1615. LETTER LXXIV.

MATTHIAS now reſolved to pull off the maſk, which he had ſo long worn on purpoſe to deceive the Proteſtants, and to convince them that he was their maſter. Meanwhile, finding himſelf advancing in years, and declining in health, he procured, in order to ſtrengthen his authority, his couſin Ferdinand de Gratz, duke of Stiria, whom he intended as his ſucceſſor in the empire, to be elected king of Bohemia, and acknowledged in Hungary, neither himſelf nor his brothers having any children: and he engaged the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria, to renounce all pretenſions which it could poſſibly have to thoſe crowns [3]. A. D. 1617.

THIS family compact alarmed the Evangelical Union, and occaſioned the revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians. The malecontents in Hungary were ſoon appeaſed; but the Bohemian Proteſtants, whoſe privileges A. D. 1618.

2. Heiſs, liv. iii. chap. viii. 3. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

PART I. had been invaded, obſtinately continued in arms, and
A. D. 1618. were joined by thoſe of Sileſia, Moravia, and Upper Auſtria. The confederates were headed by count de la Tour, a man of abilities, and ſupported by an army of German proteſtants, under the famous count Mansfeldt, natural ſon of the Flemiſh general of that name, who was for a time governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands.—Thus was kindled a furious civil war, which deſolated Germany during thirty years, intereſted all the powers of Europe, and was not finally extinguiſhed till the peace of Weſtphalia.

A. D. 1619. AMID theſe diſorders died the emperor Matthias, without being able to foreſee the event of the ſtruggle, or who ſhould be his ſucceſſor. The imperial dignity, however, went according to his deſtination. Ferdinand de Gratz was raiſed to the vacant throne, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the elector Palatine and the ſtates of Bohemia; and with a leſs tyrannical diſpoſition, he would have been worthy of that high ſtation.

THE election of Ferdinand II. inſtead of intimidating the Bohemians, rouſed them to more vigorous meaſures. They formally depoſed him, and choſe Frederic V. elector Palatine for their king. Frederic, ſeduced by his flatterers, unwiſely accepted of the crown, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of James I. of England, his father-in-law, who uſed all his influence in perſuading him to reject it, and proteſted that he would give him no aſſiſtance in ſuch a raſh undertaking.

THIS meaſure confirmed the quarrel between Ferdinand and the Bohemians. Frederic was ſeconded by all the Proteſtant princes, except the elector of Saxony, who ſtill adhered to the emperor, in hopes of obtaining the inveſtiture of Cleves and Juliers. Bethlem Gabor,

LETTER LXXIV.

vaivode of Tranſilvania, alſo declared in favour of the Palatine; entered Hungary, made himſelf maſter of many places, and was proclaimed king by the Proteſtants of that country [4]. A. D. 1619.

FREDERIC was farther ſupported by two thouſand four hundred Engliſh volunteers, whom James permitted to embark in a cauſe of which he diſapproved; and by a body of eight thouſand men, under prince Henry of Naſſau, from the United Provinces. But Ferdinand, aſſiſted by the Catholic princes of the empire, by the king of Spain, and the archduke Albert, was more than a match for his enemies. Spinola led twenty-five thouſand veterans from the Low Countries, and plundered the Palatinate, in defiance of the Engliſh and Dutch; while Frederic himſelf, unable to protect his new kingdom of Bohemia, was totally routed, near Prague, by the imperial general Buquoy, and his own Catholic kinſman, the duke of Bavaria [5]. A. D. 1620

THE Palatine and his adherents were now put to the ban of the empire; and the Bohemia. rebels being reduced, an army was diſpatched under Buquoy, into Hungary, againſt Bethlem Gabor, who conſented to reſign his title to that crown, on obtaining conditions otherwiſe advantageous. In the mean time the conqueſt of the Palatinate was finiſhed by the Imperialiſts under count Tilly. Frederic was degraded from his electoral dignity, which was conferred on the duke of Bavaria; and his dominions were beſtowed by Ferdinand, "in "the fullneſs of his power," upon thoſe who had helped to ſubdue them [6]. A. D. 1621

4. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. ix. 5. Heiſs, liv. iii. chap. ix.
6. Barre, tom. ix.

PART I. A.D. 1621.

WHILE the houſe of Auſtria was thus extending its authority in Germany, a project no leſs ambitious than bloody, was conceived for rendering the Spaniſh branch of that family abſolute in Italy. The duke d'Oſſuna, viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Villa Franca, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedomar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Venice, conſpired to ſubject the Venetians, and with them the reſt of the Italian ſtates, under the dominion of their maſter. For this purpoſe they had formed a horrid plot, which would infallibly have put them in poſſeſſion of Venice. That city was to have been ſet on fire in different parts, by a band of ruffians already lodged within its walls; while a body of troops, ſent from Milan, ſhould attack it on one ſide, and ſome armed veſſels from Naples on the other. But this atrocious deſign was diſcovered by the vigilance of the ſenate in 1618, when it was almoſt ripe for execution. The greater part of the conſpirators were privately drowned; and Bedomar, who had violated the law of nations, being ſecretly conducted out of the city, was glad to make his eſcape [7].

ANOTHER project was formed in 1620, for extending the Spaniſh dominions in Italy, by the duke of Feria, who had ſucceeded the marquis de Villa Franca in the government of Milan. He encouraged the popiſh inhabitants of the Valteline to revolt from the Griſons; and the king of Spain, as protector of the Catholic faith, ſupported them in their rebellion. The ſituation of the Valteline rendered it of infinite importance, as it facilitated the correſpondence between the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria, ſhut the Swiſs out of Italy, kept the Venetians in awe, and was a bridle on all the Italian ſtates [8].

7. Abbé St. Real. Batt. Nani, *Hiſt. della Republica Veneta.*
8. Batt. Nani, ubi ſup.

IN

LETTER LXXIV.

In the midſt of thoſe ambitious ſchemes (to which of himſelf he was little inclined) died Philip III. Philip IV. his ſon and ſucceſſor, was a prince of a more enterpriſing diſpoſition; and the abilities of Olivares, the new miniſter, were infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of the duke of Lerma, who had directed the meaſures of government during the greater part of the former reign. The ambition of Olivares was yet more lofty than his capacity. He made his maſter aſſume the ſurname of Great, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, and thought himſelf bound to juſtify the appellation. He hoped to raiſe the houſe of Auſtria to that abſolute dominion in Europe, for which it had been ſo long ſtruggling. In proſecution of this bold plan, he reſolved to maintain the cloſeſt alliance with the emperor; to make him deſpotic in Germany; to keep poſſeſſion of the Valteline; to humble the Italian powers, and reduce the United Provinces to ſubjection, the truce being now expired[9]. A. D. 1621.

Nor was this project ſo chimerical as it may at firſt ſight appear. The emperor had already cruſhed the force of the proteſtant league; France was diſtracted by civil wars, and England was amuſed by a marriage treaty, between the prince of Wales and the infanta, which more than every other conſideration, actually prevented James from taking any material ſtep in favour of the Palatine, till he was ſtript of his dominions. But France, notwithſtanding her inteſtine commotions, was not loſt to all ſenſe of danger from abroad; and the match with the infanta being broken off, by a quarrel between Buckingham, the Engliſh miniſter, and Olivares, the Spaniſh miniſter, an alliance was entered into between France and England, in conjunction with the United Provinces, for reſtraining the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, and recovering A. D. 1624.

9. *Anecdotes du Conde Duc d'Olivares.*

the

PART I. A. D. 1624.

the Palatinate [10].—The affairs of Holland now demand our attention.

AFTER the truce in 1609, the United Provinces, as I have already noticed, became a prey to religious diſſenſions. Gomar and Arminius, two profeſſors at Leyden, differed on ſome abſtract points in theology, and their opinions divided the republic. Gomar maintained, in all their auſterity, the doctrines of Calvin in regard to grace and predeſtination; Arminius endeavoured to ſoften them. The Gomariſts, who compoſed the body of the people, ever carried toward enthuſiaſm, were headed by prince Maurice: the Arminians, by the penſionary Barneveldt, a firm patriot, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in negociating the late truce, in oppoſition to the houſe of Orange. The Arminian principles were defended by Grotius, Voſſius, and the learned in general. But prince Maurice and the Gomariſts at laſt prevailed. The Arminian preachers were baniſhed, and Barneveldt was brought to the block in 1619, for "vexing the church of God!" as his ſentence imported, at the age of ſeventy, and after he had ſerved the republic forty years in the cabinet, with as much ſucceſs as Maurice had in the field. He was a man of eminent abilities and incorruptible integrity, and had eſpouſed the cauſe of the Arminians chiefly from a perſuaſion, that Maurice meant to make uſe of his popularity with the Comariſts, and of their hatred of the other ſect, in order to enſlave that people whom he had ſo gloriously delivered from the tyranny of Spain [11].

THIS opinion appears to have been well founded: for Maurice, during thoſe religious commotions, frequently

10. Ruſhworth. Clarendon. 11. Grotius. Le Clerc.

violated

violated the rights of the republic; and ſo vigorous an oppoſition only could have prevented him from overturning its liberties. The ardour of ambition at once withered his well-earned laurels and diſappointed itſelf. The death of Barneveldt opened the eyes of the people. They ſaw their danger, and the iniquity of the ſentence, notwithſtanding their religious prejudices. Maurice was deteſted as a tyrant, at the very time that he hoped to be received as a ſovereign. The deliverer of his country, when he went abroad, was ſaluted with groans and murmurs; and, as he paſſed, the name of Barneveldt ſounded in his ears from every ſtreet [12]. LETTER LXXIII.

But amid all their civil and religious diſſenſions, the Dutch were extending their commerce and their conqueſts in both extremities of the globe. The city of Batavia was founded, and the plan of an empire laid in the Eaſt Indies, infinitely ſuperior in wealth, power, and grandeur to the United Provinces. They had already caſt their eyes on Braſil, which they conquered ſoon after the expiration of the truce, and they carried on a lucrative trade with the European ſettlements in the Weſt Indies. The proſpect of hoſtilities with their ancient maſters compoſed their domeſtic animoſities. They laid aſide their jealouſy of Maurice, as he ſeemed to do his ambitious views. Every one was more zealous than another to oppoſe and to annoy the common enemy; and Spinola was obliged, by his old antagoniſt, to relinquiſh the ſiege of Bergen-op-zoom, in 1622, after having loſt ten thouſand of his beſt troops in the enterprize [13].

In France, during this period, both civil and religious diſputes were carried much higher than in Holland, Lewis XIII. being only nine years of age in 1610, when

12. Ibid. 13. Neuville, *Hiſt. de Hollande.*

his

PART I. his father Henry IV. was murdered, Mary of Medicis, the queen-mother, was choſen regent. New councils were immediately adopted, and the ſage maxims of Sully deſpiſed. He therefore reſigned his employments and retired from court. The regent was entirely guided by her Italian favourites, Concini and his wife Galligai. By them, in concert with the pope and the duke of Florence, was negociated, in 1612, an union between France and Spain, by means of a double marriage; of Lewis XIII. with Anne of Auſtria, the eldeſt infanta, and of Elizabeth the king's ſiſter, with the prince of Aſturias, afterwards Philip IV. The diſſolution of the alliances formed under the late reign, and the ruin of the Proteſtants, were alſo among the projects of Mary's Italian miniſters [14].

THE nobility, diſſatisfied with the meaſures of the court, and with the favour ſhewn to foreigners, entered into cabals; they revolted in 1613; and the treaſures collected by Henry IV. in order to humble the houſe of Auſtria, were employed by a weak adminiſtration to appeaſe thoſe factious leaders. The prince of Condé, who had headed the former faction, revolted anew in 1615. He and his adherents were again gratified, at the expence of the public; and freſh intrigues being ſuſpected, he was ſent to the Baſtile [15].

THE impriſonment of the prince of Condé alarmed many of the nobles, who retired from court, and prepared for their defence; or, in other words, for hoſtilities. Meantime Concini, who ſtill maintained his influence, received a blow from a quarter whence he little expected it. Albert Luines, who had originally recommended himſelf to the young king's favour by rear-

14. Dupleix. Mezeray. 15. Ibid.

ing

ing and training birds for his amuſement, found means to make him jealous of his authority. He dwelt on the ambition of the queen-mother, and the mal-adminiſtration of her foreign favourites, to whom the moſt important affairs of ſtate were committed, and whoſe inſolence, he affirmed, had occaſioned all the diſſatisfactions among the great [16].

LEWIS, ſtruck with the picture ſet before him, and deſirous of ſeizing the reins of government, immediately ordered Concini to be arreſted; and Vitri captain of the guards, to whom that ſervice was intruſted, executed it, in 1617, entirely to the wiſh of Luines. Concini was ſhot under pretence of reſiſtance. The ſentence of treaſon was paſſed on his memory; and Galligai, his widow, being accuſed of ſorcery and magic, was condemned by the parliament to ſuffer death, for treaſon *divine* and *human*. When aſked what ſpell ſhe had made uſe of to faſcinate the queen-mother, ſhe magnanimouſly replied, "That aſcendant which a ſuperior mind has "over a feeble ſpirit!" The regent's guards were inſtantly removed, and the king's placed in their ſtead. She was confined for a time to her apartment, and afterwards exiled to Blois [17].

THAT indignation which Concini and his wife had excited, was ſuddenly transferred to Luines, enriched by their immenſe ſpoils, and who engroſſed in a ſtill higher degree the royal favour. His avarice and ambition knew no bounds. From a page and gentleman of the bed-chamber, he became, in a rapid ſucceſſion, a marechal, duke, and peer of France; conſtable, and keeper of the ſeals. Meanwhile a conſpiracy was formed for the releaſe of the queen-mother, and carried into execution

16. *Mem. des Affaires de France*, depuis 1610, juſqu'en 1620. Mezeray, *Hiſt. de Mere et du Fils*. 17. Id. ibid.

by

PART I. by the duke d'Eſpernon, whoſe power had firſt exalted her to the regency. The court, for a time, talked loudly of violent meaſures: but it was judged proper, in 1619, to conclude a treaty advantageous to the malcontents, and avoid proceeding to extremities. This lenity encouraged the queen-mother to enter into freſh cabals; and a new treaty was agreed to by the court, no leſs indulgent than the former [18].

THESE cabals in oppoſition to the court were chiefly conducted by Richelieu, biſhop of Luçon. He had riſen to notice through the influence of Galligai: he had been diſgraced with Mary of Medicis, the queen-mother, and with her he returned into favour, as well as conſequence. At her ſolicitation, he obtained a cardinal's hat, a ſeat in the council, and ſoon after a ſhare in the adminiſtration [19]. But hypocriſy was neceſſary to conceal, for a ſeaſon, from envy and jealouſy, thoſe tranſcendent abilities, which were one day to aſtoniſh Europe.

IN the meantime a new civil war was kindled, more violent than any of the former. Lewis XIII. having united by a ſolemn edict, the principality of Bearn, the hereditary eſtate of his family, to the crown of France, in 1620, attempted to re-eſtabliſh the Catholic religion in that province, where there were no Catholics [20], and to reſtore to the clergy the church lands, contrary to the ſtipulations of Henry IV. The Hugonots alarmed at the impending danger, aſſembled at Rochelle, in contempt of the king's prohibition; and concluding that their final deſtruction was reſolved upon, they determined to throw off the royal authority, and eſtabliſh a

18. Mezeray, ubi ſup. *Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon.* 19. Auberi, *Hiſt. du Card. Rich.* 20. Dupleix, *Hiſt. Louis XIII.*

republic,

republic, after the example of the Proteſtants in the Low Countries, for the protection of their civil and religious liberties. Rochelle was to be the capital of the new commonwealth, which would have formed a ſeparate ſtate within the kingdom [21].

LETTER LXXIV.

THE conſtable Luines, equally ignorant and preſumptuous, imagining he could ſubdue this formidable party, had immediately recourſe to arms. Nor was intrigue neglected. After ſeducing by bribes and promiſes, ſeveral of the Proteſtant leaders, among whom was the duke of Bouillon, and reducing ſome inconſiderable places, the king and Luines laid ſiege to Montauban in 1621. The royal army conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand men, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign; but the place was ſo gallantly defended by the marquis de la Force, that Lewis and his favourite, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts, were obliged to abandon the enterprize. Luines died ſoon after this ſhameful expedition; and the brave and ambitious Leſdiguieres, who had already deſerted the Hugonots, on ſolemnly renouncing Calviniſm, was honoured with the conſtable's ſword [22].

THE loſs which the Proteſtant cauſe ſuſtained by the apoſtacy of Leſdiguieres, and the defection of the duke of Bouillon, was made up by the zeal and abilities of the duke of Rohan and his brother Soubiſe; men not inferior (eſpecially the duke) either in civil or military talents, to any of the age in which they lived. Soubiſe however was defeated by the king in perſon, who continued to carry on the war with vigour. But the duke ſtill kept the field; and Lewis having laid ſiege to Montpelier, which defended itſelf as gallantly as Montauban,

21. Id. ibid.

22. *Hiſt. du Connetable de Leſdig-*

peace

PART I. peace was concluded with the Hugonots, in 1622, to prevent a ſecond diſgrace. They obtained a confirmation of the edict of Nantes; and the duke of Rohan, who negociated the treaty, was gratified to the utmoſt of his wiſh [23].

THE French councils now began to aſſume more vigour. Cardinal Richelieu no ſooner got a ſhare in the adminiſtration, which in a ſhort time he entirely governed, than turning his eyes on the ſtate of Europe, he formed three mighty projects; to ſubdue the turbulent ſpirit of the French nobility, to reduce the rebellious Hugonots, and to curb the encroaching power of the houſe of Auſtria. But, in order to carry theſe great deſigns into execution, it was neceſſary to preſerve peace with England. This Richelieu perceived, and accordingly negociated, in ſpite of the courts of Rome and
A.D. 1624. Madrid, a treaty of marriage between Charles prince of Wales, and Henrietta of France, ſiſter of Lewis XIII. He alſo negociated between the two crowns, in conjunction with the United Provinces, that alliance which I have already noticed, and which brought on hoſtilities with Spain.

IN conſequence of theſe negociations, a body of ſix thouſand men was levied in England, and ſent over to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, who were ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in ſo popular a cauſe, and of acquiring military experience under ſo renowned a captain as Maurice. Count Mansfeldt was taken into Engliſh pay; and an army of twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, under his command, was embarked at Dover, in order to join the league, formed in Lower Saxony, for the reſtoration of

23. *Mem. du Duc de Rohan.*

the

the Palatine, and of which Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, was declared chief. About the ſame time a French army, in concert with the Venetians and the duke of Savoy, recovered the Valteline, which had been ſequeſtered to the pope, and reſtored it to the Griſons [24]. LETTER LXXIV. A.D. 1625.

MEANWHILE the houſe of Auſtria was neither inactive nor unfortunate in other quarters. Spinola had reduced Breda, one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the Netherlands, in ſpite of all the efforts of prince Maurice, who died of chagrin before the place ſurrendered. The Engliſh had failed in an attempt upon Cadiz: the embarkation under count Mansfeldt had proved abortive; and the king of Denmark was defeated by the Imperialiſts near Northen [25]. A.D. 1626.

THE miſcarriages of the Engliſh cooled their ardour for foreign enterprizes; and cardinal Richelieu found, for a time, buſineſs enough to occupy his genius at home. He had not only to quiet the Hugonots, who had again rebelled, and to whom he found it neceſſary to grant advantageous conditions, but he had a powerful faction at court to oppoſe. Not one prince of the blood was heartily his friend. Gaſton duke of Orleans, the king's brother, was his declared enemy; the queen-mother herſelf was become jealous of him, and Lewis was more attached to him from fear than affection. But the bold and ambitious ſpirit of Richelieu triumphed over every obſtacle: it diſcovered and diſſipated all the cabals and conſpiracies formed againſt him, and at length made him abſolute maſter of the king and kingdom.

24. Auberi. Dupleix, ubi ſup. Ruſhworth.

25. Heiſs. Le Clerc.

PART I.

A. D. 1627

DURING theſe cabals in the French court, the Hugonots ſhewed once more a diſpoſition to render themſelves independent: and in that ſpirit they were encouraged by the court of England, which voluntarily engaged in their cauſe. The reaſon aſſigned by ſome hiſtorians for this ſtep is very ſingular. As Lewis XIII. was wholly governed by cardinal Richelieu, and Philip IV. by Olivarez, Charles I. was, in like manner, governed by the duke of Buckingham, the handſomeſt and moſt pompous man of his time, but not the deepeſt politician. He was naturally amorous, bold, and preſumptuous; and when employed to bring over the princeſs Henrietta, he is ſaid to have carried his addreſſes even to the queen of France. The return which he met with, how trivial ſoever, encouraged him to project a new embaſſy to that court; but cardinal Richelieu, reported to have been his rival in love, as well as in politics, made Lewis ſend him a meſſage, that he muſt not think of ſuch a journey. Buckingham, in a romantic paſſion, ſwore that he would, "ſee the queen, in ſpite of all the power of "France [26]:"—and hence is ſuppoſed to have originated the war with that kingdom.

BUT raſh and impetuous as Buckingham was, he appears to have had better reaſons for this meaſure. Cardinal Richelieu was ſtill meditating the deſtruction of the Hugonots: they had been deprived of many of their cautionary towns; and forts were erecting, in order to bridle Rochelle, their moſt conſiderable bulwark. If the proteſtant party ſhould be utterly ſubdued, France would ſoon become formidable to England. This conſideration was of itſelf ſufficient to induce Buckingham to undertake the defence of the Hugonots: but he had other motives, independent of his

26. Clarendon, *Hiſt.* vol. i. *Mem. de Mad. Motteville*, tom. i.

paſſion

paſſion for Anne of Auſtria, and his amorous quarrel with Richelieu. That artful miniſter had engaged the duke to ſend ſome Engliſh ſhips to act againſt the Rochelle fleet, under a promiſe, that after the humiliation of the Hugonots, France ſhould take an active part in the war with Spain. This ill-judged compliance rouſed the ſpirit of the Engliſh nation againſt Buckingham, and was made one of the grounds of an impeachment. He changed his plan; procured a peace for the Hugonots, and became ſecurity to them for its performance; but finding that the cardinal would neither concur with him in carrying on the war againſt Spain, nor obſerve the treaty with the Hugonots, he had no other method left of recovering his authority with the people, eſpecially after the miſcarriage of the expedition againſt Cadiz, but by breaking with the court of France, in vindication of the rights of the French Proteſtants[27].

LETTER LXX.

A. D. 1627.

BUCKINGHAM's views, in undertaking this war, are leſs cenſurable than his conduct in carrying them into execution. He appeared before Rochelle with a fleet of an hundred ſail, and an army of ſeven thouſand men; but ſo ill-concerted were his meaſures, that the inhabitants of that city ſhut their gates againſt him, and refuſed to admit allies of whoſe coming they were not previouſly informed[28]. They were but a part of the proteſtant body, they obſerved, and muſt conſult their brethren before they could take ſuch a ſtep. This blunder was followed by another. Inſtead of attacking Oleron, a fertile iſland, and defenceleſs, Buckingham made a deſcent on the iſle of Rhé, which was well garriſoned and fortified. All his military operations ſhewed equal incapacity and inexperience. He left

27. Clarendon. Dupleix. 28. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

PART I. A. D. 1627.

behind him the ſmall fort of Prie, which covered the landing place; he allowed Thorias, the governor, to amuſe him with a deceitful negociation, till St. Martin the principal fort, was provided for a ſiege; he attacked it, before he had made any breach, and raſhly threw away the lives of his ſoldiers; and he guarded the ſea ſo negligently, that a French army ſtole over in ſmall diviſions, and obliged him to retreat to his ſhips. He was the laſt man that embarked; and having loſt two thirds of his land-forces, he returned to England, totally diſcredited both as an admiral and a general, bringing home with him no reputation but that of perſonal courage [29].

THIS ill-concerted and equally ill-conducted enterprize, proved fatal to Rochelle, and to the power of the French Proteſtants. Cardinal Richelieu, under pretence of guarding the coaſt againſt the Engliſh, ſent a body of troops into the neighbourhood, and ordered quarters to be marked out for twenty-five thouſand men. The ſiege of Rochelle was regularly formed, and conducted with vigour by the king, and even by the cardinal in perſon. Neither the duke of Rohan nor his brother Soubiſe were in the place; yet the citizens, animated by civil and religious zeal, and abundantly provided with military ſtores, determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Under the command of Guiton, their mayor, a man of experience and fortitude, they made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and baffled all attempts to reduce the city by force. But the bold genius of Richelieu, which led him to plan the greateſt undertakings, alſo ſuggeſted means equally great and extraordinary, for their execution. Finding it impoſſible to take Rochelle, while the com-

29. Clarendon. Ruſhworth.

munication

munication remained open by ſea, he attempted to ſhut up the harbour by ſtakes, and by a boom. Both theſe methods, however, proving ineffectual, he recollected what Alexander had performed at the ſiege of Tyre, and projected and finiſhed a mole of a mile's length acroſs a gulf, into which the ſea rolled with an impetuoſity that ſeemed to bid defiance to all the works of man. The place being now blockaded on all ſides, and every attempt for its relief failing, the inhabitants were obliged to ſurrender, after ſuffering all the miſeries of war and famine, during a ſiege of almoſt twelve months. They were deprived of their extenſive privileges, and their fortifications were deſtroyed; but they were allowed to retain poſſeſſion of their goods, and permitted the free exerciſe of their religion [30]. LETTER LXX. A. D. 1628.

CARDINAL Richelieu did not ſtop in the middle of his career. He marched immediately towards the other provinces, where the Proteſtants poſſeſſed many cautionary towns, and were ſtill formidable by their numbers. The duke of Rohan defended himſelf with vigour in Languedoc; but ſeeing no hopes of being able to continue the ſtruggle, England, his only natural ally, having already concluded a peace with France and Spain, he at laſt had recourſe to negociation, and obtained very favourable conditions, both for himſelf and his party. The Proteſtants were left in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, of the free exerciſe of their religion, and of all the privileges granted by the edict of Nantes; but they were deprived of their fortifications, as dangerous to the peace of the ſtate [31]. A. D. 1629.

30. *Mem. du Duc de Rohan.* 31. Ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1629.

FROM this æra we may date the aggrandiſement of the French monarchy, in latter times, as well as the abſolute dominion of the prince. That authority which Lewis XI. had acquired over the great, and which was preſerved by his immediate ſucceſſors, had been loſt during the religious wars; which, in the Hugonots, raiſed up a new power, that almoſt divided the ſtrength of the kingdom, and at once expoſed it to foreign enemies and domeſtic factions. But no ſooner was this formidable body humbled, and every order of the ſtate, and every ſect, reduced to pay ſubmiſſion to the lawful authority of the ſovereign, than France began to take the lead in the affairs of Europe, and her independent nobles to ſink into the condition of ſervants of the court.

RICHELIEU's ſyſtem, however, though ſo far advanced, was not yet complete. But the whole was ſtill in contemplation: nor did he ever loſe ſight of one circumſtance that could forward its progreſs. No ſooner had he ſubdued the Proteſtants in France, than he reſolved to ſupport them in Germany, that he might be enabled, by their means, more effectually to ſet bounds to the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria. And never was the power of that houſe more formidable, or more dangerous to the liberties of Europe.

FERDINAND II. whom we have ſeen triumphant over the Palatine and the Evangelical Union, continued to carry every thing before him in the empire. The king of Denmark, and the league in Lower Saxony, were unable to withſtand his armies, under Tilly and Walſtein. After repeated defeats and loſſes, the Daniſh monarch was obliged to ſue for peace; and the emperor

peror found himſelf, at length, poſſeſſed of abſolute authority [32]. LETTER LXXIV. A.D. 1629.

BUT, fortunately for mankind, Ferdinand's ambition undid itſelf, and ſaved Europe, as well as the empire, from that deſpotiſm with which both were threatened. Not ſatisfied with an uncontrolled ſway over Germany, he attempted to revive the imperial juriſdiction in Italy. Vincent II. duke of Mantua and Montferrat, having died without iſſue, Charles de Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, his kinſman, claimed the ſucceſſion, in virtue of a matrimonial contract, as well as the vicinity of blood. But Cæſar de Gonzaga, duke of Guaſtalla, had already received, from the emperor, the eventual inveſtiture of thoſe ancient fiefs. The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have ſupplanted the two former, and the king of Spain hoped to exclude all three, under pretence of ſupporting the latter. Ferdinand's deſire of aggrandiſing the houſe of Auſtria was well known, as well as his ſcheme of extending the imperial juriſdiction: and both were now made more evident. He put the diſputed territories in ſequeſtration, till the cauſe ſhould be decided at Vienna; and while the Spaniards and the duke of Savoy ravaged Montferrat, a German army took and pillaged the city of Mantua [33].

FERDINAND now thought the time was come for realizing that idea, which he had long revolved, of reducing the electoral princes to the condition of grandees of Spain, and the biſhops to the ſtate of imperial chaplains. Senſible, however, of the danger of alarming both religions at once, he reſolved to begin with the Proteſtants; and accordingly iſſued an edict, ordering them to reſtore, without loſs of time, all the benefices and

32. Barre, tom. ix. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

33. Niger. *Diſquiſit. de Mant. Ducat.*

PART I. church-lands, which they had held ſince the peace of Paſſau [34].
A. D. 1629.

BUT it was eaſier to iſſue ſuch an edict than to carry it into execution; and Ferdinand, though poſſeſſed of an army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, under two of the ableſt generals in Europe, found reaſon to repent of his temerity. France gave the firſt check to his ambition. Cardinal Richelieu had early intereſted himſelf in the affairs of Mantua. Lewis, in perſon, had forced the famous paſs of Suſa, during the ſiege of Modena. And peace was no ſooner concluded with the Hugonots than the cardinal croſſed the Alps, at the head of twenty thouſand men; gained ſeveral advantages over the Spaniards and Imperialiſts, chaſed the duke of Savoy from his dominions, and obliged the emperor to
A D. 1630. grant the inveſtiture of Mantua and Montferrat to the duke of Nevers [35]. The duke of Savoy, during theſe tranſactions, died of chagrin; and Spinola, who had failed to reduce Cazal, is ſuppoſed to have periſhed of the ſame diſtemper. The accommodation between France and the empire, which terminated this war, was partly negociated by Julio Mazarine, who now firſt appeared on the theatre of the world, as a prieſt and politician, having formerly been a captain of horſe [36].

MEANWHILE the elector of Saxony, and other princes of the Augſburg Confeſſion, remonſtrated againſt the edict of *Reſtitution:* they maintained that the emperor had no right to command ſuch reſtitution, which ought to be made the ſubject of deliberation in a general diet. A diet was accordingly held at Ratiſbon; and the greater part of the Catholic princes exhorted the emperor to quiet the Pro-

34. Barre, ubi ſup, Barchelius, p. 185. Puffend. *Comment. Reb. Suec.* lib. I. 35. Auberi, *Hiſt. du Card. Rich.* 36. Id, ibid. Gualdo, *Vita di Mazarini.*

teſtants,

teſtants, by granting them, for a term of forty years, the enjoyment of ſuch benefices as they had poſſeſſed ſince the treaty of Paſſau. But this advice being vigorouſly oppoſed by the eccleſiaſtical electors, who made uſe of arguments more agreeable to the views of Ferdinand, he continued obſtinate in his purpoſe; and the Proteſtants, in order to ſave themſelves from that robbery with which they were threatened, and which was already begun in many places, ſecretly formed an alliance with Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden [37]. — But before I introduce this extraordinary man, we muſt take a view of the northern kingdoms, which had hitherto had no connexion with the general ſyſtem of Europe, and had ſcarce offered any thing intereſting, ſince the death of Guſtavus Vaſa.

LETTER LXXIV. A. D. 1630.

ERIC VASA, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Guſtavus, proving a diſſolute and cruel prince, was dethroned and impriſoned by the ſtates of Sweden, in 1568. He was ſucceeded by his brother John; who, after attempting in vain to reeſtabliſh the Catholic religion, died in 1592, and left the crown to his ſon Sigiſmund, already elected king of Poland. Sigiſmund, like his father, being a zealous Catholic, and the Swedes no leſs zealous Lutherans, they depoſed him in the year 1600, and raiſed to the ſovereignty his uncle Charles IX. who had been chiefly inſtrumental in preſerving their religious liberties. The Poles attempted in vain to reſtore Sigiſmund to the throne of Sweden. Charles ſwayed the ſceptre till his death; and was ſucceeded in 1611, by his ſon, the celebrated Guſtavus Adolphus [38].

RUSSIA, during that period, was a prey to civil wars. John Baſilowitz II. dying in 1584, left two ſons, Theo-

37. Puffend. ubi ſup. Barre, tom. ix. 38. Loccen, *Hiſt. Suec.* lib. vii.

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PART I.

dore and Demetrius. Theodore ſucceeded his father on the throne; and at the inſtigation of Boris, his prime miniſter, ordered his brother to Demetrius murdered. He himſelf died ſoon after; and Boris, though ſuſpected of poiſoning his maſter, was proclaimed king. Meanwhile a young man appeared in Lithuania, under the name and character of the prince Demetrius, pretending that he had eſcaped out of the hands of the aſſaſſin. Aſſiſted by a Poliſh army, he entered Moſcow in 1605, and was proclaimed czar without oppoſition; the mother and ſon of Boris, who was now dead, being dragged to priſon by the populace. The rage of that populace was ſoon turned againſt Demetrius. He was ſlain on his marriage day, together with moſt of his Poliſh attendants, who had rendered him obnoxious to the Ruſſians. A body, ſaid to be his, was expoſed to public view; and Zuſki, a nobleman who had fomented the inſurrection, was declared ſucceſſor. But ſcarce was Zuſki ſeated on the throne, when a ſecond Demetrius made his appearance; and after his death, a third. Poland and Sweden took part in the quarrel. Zuſki was delivered up to the Poles, and Demetrius was maſſacred by the Tartars. But a fourth, and even a fifth Demetrius appeared: and Ruſſia, during theſe ſtruggles, was repeatedly ravaged by oppoſite factions and foreign troops. At length Michael Theodorowitz, ſon of Romanow biſhop of Roſtow, afterwards patriarch, related by females to the czar John Baſilowitz, was raiſed to the throne; and this prince, having concluded a peace with Sweden and Poland, in 1618, reſtored tranquillity to Ruſſia, and tranſmitted the crown to his deſcendants [39].

DENMARK affords nothing that merits our attention during the reign of Frederic II. who ſucceeded his fa-

39. Ludolf. Puffendorf. Petréius.

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ther, Chriſtian III. in 1558; nor during the reign of his ſon and ſucceſſor, Chriſtian IV. before he was choſen general of the league in Lower Saxony. And the tranſactions of Chriſtian IV. even while veſted with that command, are too unimportant to merit a particular detail. The iſſue of his operations has been already related.

SWEDEN alone, during thoſe times, of all the northern kingdoms, yields a ſpectacle worthy of obſervation. No ſooner was Guſtavus ſeated on the throne, though only eighteen years of age at his acceſſion, than he ſignalized himſelf by his exploits againſt the Danes, the ancient enemies of his crown. Profiting afterwards by peace, which he had found neceſſary, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of civil affairs; and by a wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration, ſupported with ſalutary laws, he reformed many public abuſes, and gave order, proſperity, and weight to the ſtate. In a war againſt Ruſſia, he ſubdued almoſt all Finland, and ſecured to himſelf the poſſeſſion of his conqueſts by a treaty. His couſin Sigiſmund, king of Poland, treating him as an uſurper, and refuſing peace, when offered by Guſtavus, he overran Livonia, Pruſſia, and Lithuania [40]. An advantageous truce of ſix years, concluded with Poland, in 1629,

40. Loccen. lib. viii. Puffend. lib. ii. During this war, the practice of duelling roſe to ſuch a height, both among officers and private men, in the Swediſh army, as induced Guſtavus to publiſh a ſevere edict, denouncing death againſt every offender: and by a ſtrict execution of that edict, the evil was effectually removed. (Harte's *Life of Guſtavus*, vol. i.) When two of his generals demanded permiſſion to decide a quarrel by the ſword, he gave a ſeeming conſent, and told them he would himſelf be an eye-witneſs of their valour and proweſs. He accordingly appeared on the ground, but accompanied by the public executioner, who had orders to cut off the head of the conqueror. The high-ſpirited combatants, ſubdued by ſuch firmneſs, fell on their knees at the king's feet; were ordered to embrace, and continued friends to the end of their lives. Scheffer. *Memorand. Suec. Gent.*

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PART I. gave him leiſure to take part in the troubles of Germany, and to exhibit more fully thoſe heroic qualities, which will ever be the admiration of mankind.

GUSTAVUS had many reaſons for making war againſt the emperor. Ferdinand had aſſiſted his enemy, the king of Poland; he had treated the Swediſh ambaſſador with diſreſpect; and he had formed a project for extending his dominion over the Baltic. If the king of Sweden looked tamely on, till the German princes were finally ſubjected, the independency of the Gothic monarchy, as well as that of the other northern kingdoms, would be in danger.

BUT the motives which chiefly induced Guſtavus to take arms againſt the head of the empire, were the love of glory and zeal for the Proteſtant religion. Theſe, however, did not tranſport him beyond the bounds of prudence. He laid
A.D. 1630. his deſign before the ſtates of Sweden; and he negociated with France, England, and Holland, before he began his march. Charles I. ſtill deſirous of the reſtoration of the Palatine, agreed to ſend the king of Sweden ſix thouſand men. Theſe troops were raiſed in the name of the marquis of Hamilton, and ſuppoſed to be maintained by that nobleman, that the appearance of neutrality might be preſerved [41]. The people were more forward than the king. The flower of Guſtavus's army, and two-thirds of his beſt officers, by the time he entered Germany, conſiſted of Scottiſh and Engliſh adventurers, who thronged over to ſupport the Proteſtant cauſe, and to ſeek renown under the champion of their religion [42]; ſo that the conqueſts even of this illuſtrious hero, may partly be aſcribed to Britiſh valour, and Britiſh ſagacity!

41. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

42. Burnet, *Mem. of the Houſe of Hamilton*, vol. i.

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THE moſt neceſſary ſupply, however, that Guſtavus received was an annual ſubſidy from cardinal Richelieu, of twelve hundred thouſand livres; a ſmall ſum in our days, but conſiderable at that time, eſpecially in a country where the precious metals are ſtill ſcarce. The treaty between France and Sweden is a maſter piece in politics. Guſtavus agreed, in conſideration of the ſtipulated ſubſidy, to maintain in Germany an army of thirty-ſix thouſand men; bound himſelf to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality towards the duke of Bavaria, and all the princes of the Catholic League, on condition that they ſhould not join the emperor againſt the Swedes; and to preſerve the rights of the Romiſh church, wherever he ſhould find it eſtabliſhed [43]. By theſe ingenious ſtipulations, which do ſo much honour to the genius of Richelieu, the Catholic princes were not only freed from all alarm on the ſcore of religion, but furniſhed with a pretext for with-holding their aſſiſtance from the emperor, as a ſtep which would expoſe them to the arms of Sweden. A. D. 1631.

GUSTAVUS had entered Pomerania when this treaty was concluded, and ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Frankfort upon the Oder, Colberg, and ſeveral other important places. The Proteſtant princes, however, were ſtill backward in declaring themſelves, leſt they ſhould be ſeparately cruſhed by the imperial power, before the king of Sweden could march to their aſſiſtance. In order to put an end to this irreſolution, Guſtavus ſummoned the elector of Brandenburg to declare himſelf openly in three days; and on receiving an evaſive anſwer, he marched directly to Berlin. This ſpirited conduct had the deſired effect: the gates were thrown open, and Guſtavus was received as a friend. He was ſoon after joined by the landgrave of Heſſe, and the elec-

43. Londorp. *Act. Pub.* tom. iv.

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PART I. A. D. 1631.

tor of Saxony, who being perſecuted by the Imperialiſts, put themſelves under his protection. Guſtavus now marched towards Leipſic, where Tilly lay encamped. That experienced general advanced into the plain of Breitenfeld to meet his antagoniſt, at the head of thirty thouſand veterans. The king of Sweden's army conſiſted nearly of an equal number of men; but the Saxon auxiliaries were raw and undiſciplined, and fled at the firſt onſet: yet Guſtavus, by his ſuperior conduct, and the ſuperior valour of the Swedes, gained a complete victory over Tilly and the Imperialiſts [44].

THIS blow threw Ferdinand into the utmoſt conſternation; and if the king of Sweden had marched immediately to Vienna, it is ſuppoſed he might have made himſelf maſter of that capital. But it is impoſſible for human foreſight to diſcern all the advantages that may be reaped from a great and ſingular ſtroke of good fortune. Hannibal waſted his time at Capua, after the battle of Cannæ, when he ſhould have led his victorious army to Rome; and Guſtavus Adolphus, inſtead of beſieging Vienna, or laying waſte the emperor's hereditary dominions, went to erect a column on the oppoſite bank of the Rhine, in order to perpetuate the progreſs of his arms [45].

THE conſequences of the victory at Leipſic, however, were great; nor did the conqueror fail to improve that ſucceſs which he had ſo glorioufly earned. He was inſtantly joined by all the members of the Evangelical Union, determined at laſt to throw off the imperial bondage: the meaſures of the Catholic League were utterly diſconcerted; and Guſtavus made himſelf maſter of

44. Harte's *Life of Guſtavus*, vol. ii. a l'An. 1631. Harte, ubi ſup.

45. *Mercur. Franc.*

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the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine, comprehending a ſpace of near one hundred leagues, full of fortified towns. The elector of Saxony, in the mean time, entered Bohemia, and took Prague. Tilly was killed in diſputing with the Swedes the paſſage of the Lech. Guſtavus ſoon after reduced Augſburg, and there re-eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant religion. He next marched into Bavaria, where he found the gates of almoſt every city thrown open on his approach; and when preſſed to revenge on Munich the cruelties (too horrid to be deſcribed) which Tilly had perpetrated at Magdeburg; to give up the city to pillage, and reduce the elector's magnificent palace to aſhes, "No!" replied he: "let "us not imitate the barbarity of the Goths, our an-"ceſtors, who have rendered their memory deteſtable "by abuſing the rights of conqueſt, in doing violence to "humanity, and deſtroying the precious monuments of "art[46]."

LETTER LXXIV.

A.D. 1632.

During theſe tranſactions, the renowned Walſtein, who had been for a time in diſgrace, but was reſtored to the chief command, with abſolute powers, ſoon after the defeat at Leipſic, had recovered Prague, and the greater part of Bohemia. Guſtavus offered him battle near Nuremburg; but that cautious veteran prudently declined the challenge, and the king of Sweden was repulſed in attempting to force his entrenchments. The action laſted for ten hours, during which every regiment in the Swediſh army, not excepting the body of reſerve, was led on to the attack. The king's perſon was in imminent danger; the Auſtrian cavalry ſallying out furiouſly from their entrenchments on the right and left, when the efforts of the Swedes began to ſlacken:

46. Harte, vol. ii. Le Vaſſor, *Hiſt. Louis XIII.*

and

PART I. A. D. 1632.

and a maſterly retreat only could have ſaved him from a total overthrow. That ſervice was partly performed by an old Scotch colonel of the name of Hepburn, who had reſigned his commiſſion in diſguſt, but was preſent at this aſſault. To him Guſtavus applied in his diſtreſs, ſeeing no officer of equal experience at hand, and truſting to the colonel's natural generoſity of ſpirit. He was not deceived. Hepburn's pride overcame his reſentment. "This," ſaid he (and he perſevered in his reſolution) is the laſt time that ever I will ſerve ſo ungrateful a prince!"—Elated with the opportunity that was offered him of gathering freſh laurels, and of exalting himſelf in the eye of a maſter, by whom he thought himſelf injured, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of the battle; delivered the orders of Guſtavus to his army, and conducted the retreat with ſo much order and ability, that the Imperialiſts durſt not give him the ſmalleſt diſturbance[47].

GUSTAVUS afterwards attacked Walſtein in the wide plain of Lutzen, near Leipſic, where a great battle was fought, and the Swediſh monarch loſt his life in the height of a complete victory; which was improved by Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weymar, his lieutenant-general[48]. No prince, ancient or modern, ſeems to have poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree as Guſtavus, the united qualities of the hero, the ſtateſman, and the commander; that intuitive genius which conceives, that wiſdom which plans, and that combination of conduct and cou-

47. Puffend. *Reb Suec.* lib. iv. *Mod. Univ. Hiſt.* art. *Swed.* ſect. viii. This anecdote relative to Hepburn is told ſomewhat differently by Harte; who, jealous of the honour of his hero Guſtavus, ſeems ſcrupulous in admitting the merit of the Scottiſh and Engliſh officers.

48. Harte, vol. ii.

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rage, which gives ſucceſs to an enterprize [49]. Nor was the military progreſs of any prince ever equally rapid, under circumſtances equally difficult; with an inferior force, againſt warlike nations, and diſciplined troops conducted by able and experienced generals. LETTER LXXIV. A. D. 1632.

THE death of Guſtavus preſaged great alterations in the ſtate of Europe. The elector Palatine, who was in hopes of being reſtored not only to his hereditary dominions, but to the throne of Bohemia, died ſoon after of chagrin. The German Proteſtants, now without a head, became divided into factions; the Imperialiſts, though defeated, were tranſported with joy, and prepared to puſh the war with vigour; while the Swedes, though victorious, were overwhelmed with ſorrow for the loſs of their heroic prince, whoſe daughter and ſucceſſor, Chriſtina, was only ſix years of age. A council of regency, however, being appointed, and the management of the war in Germany committed to the chancellor Oxenſtiern, a man of great political talents, the Proteſtant confederacy ſtill wore a formidable aſpect. The alliance between France and Sweden was renewed, and hoſtilities were puſhed with vigour and ſucceſs by the duke of Saxe-Weymar, and the generals Bannier and Horn. A. D. 1633.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe favourable appearances, the war became every day more burthenſome and diſagreeable, both to the Swedes and their German allies; and Oxenſtiern, who had hitherto ſucceſsfully employed

49. If Guſtavus had any fault as a general, it ſeems to have been an exceſs of courage. He commonly appeared in the front of the battle, mounted on a horſe of a particular colour; which, with his large and majeſtic ſtature, ſurpaſſing that of every other Swede, made him known both to friends and enemies. Id. ibid.

PART I. his genius in finding reſources for the ſupport of the common cauſe, ſeemed much at a loſs, when an unexpected
A. D. 1633. event gave new hopes to the confederates. The emperor, become jealous of the vaſt powers he had granted to Walſtein, whoſe inſolence and ambition knew no bounds, reſolved to deprive him of the command; and Walſtein, in order to prevent his diſgrace, is ſaid to have concerted the means of a revolt. It is at leaſt certain, that he attempted to ſecure himſelf by the attachment of his ſoldiers; and Ferdinand, afraid of the delay of a legal trial, or having no proof of his treaſon, and dreading his re-
A. D. 1634. ſentment, had recourſe to the diſhonourable expedient of aſſaſſination [50].

BUT the fall of this great man, who had chiefly obſtructed the progreſs of the Swediſh arms, both before and ſince the death of Guſtavus, was not followed by all thoſe advantages, which the confederates expected from it. The Imperialiſts, animated by the preſence of the king of Hungary, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, who ſucceeded Walſtein in the command of the army, made up in valour what their general wanted in experience. Twenty thouſand Spaniſh and Italian troops arrived in Germany under the duke of Feria: the Cardinal Infant, the new governor of the Low Countries, likewiſe brought a reinforcement to the Catholic cauſe: the duke of Lorrain, a ſoldier of fortune, joined the king of Hungary with ten thouſand men; and the duke of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, alſo found himſelf under the neceſſity of uniting his forces to thoſe of the emperor.

50. Barre, tom. ix. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. Harte, vol. ii. If Walſtein had formed any treaſonous deſign, it ſeems to have been after he diſcovered his ruin to be otherwiſe inevitable. He was too great and haughty for a ſubject; and the death of Guſtavus had rendered him leſs neceſſary to the emperor.

MEANWHILE

LETTER LXXIV

MEANWHILE the Swediſh generals, Bannier, Horn, and the duke of Saxe Weymar, maintained a ſuperiority on the Oder, the Rhine, and the Danube; and the elector of Saxony, in Bohemia and Luſatia. Horn and the duke of Saxe-Weymar united their forces, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the king of Hungary, who had already made himſelf maſter of Ratiſbon. They came up with him near Nordlingen, where was fought one of the moſt obſtinate and bloody battles recorded in hiſtory; and where the Swedes were totally routed, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts [51]. In vain did the duke of Saxe-Weymar remind them of Leipſic and Lutzen: though a conſummate general, he wanted that all-inſpiring ſpirit of Guſtavus, which communicated his own heroiſm to his troops, and made them irreſiſtible, unleſs when oppoſed to inſuperable bulwarks. A.D. 1634.

THIS defeat threw the members of the Evangelical Union into the utmoſt conſternation and deſpair. They accuſed the Swedes, whom they had lately extolled as their deliverers, of all the calamities which they felt or dreaded; and the emperor, taking advantage of theſe diſcontents and his own ſucceſs, did not fail to divide the confederates yet more by negociation. The elector of Saxony firſt deſerted the alliance; and a treaty with the court of Vienna, to the following purport, was at length ſigned at Prague, by all the Proteſtant princes, except the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. "The Proteſtants "ſhall retain for ever the mediate eccleſiaſtical benefices, "which did not depend immediately upon the emperor, "and were ſeized before the pacification of Paſſau; and "they ſhall retain, for the ſpace of forty years, the im-"mediate eccleſiaſtical benefices, though ſeized ſince "the treaty of Paſſau, if actually enjoyed before the A.D. 1635.

51. Loccen. lib. ix. Puffend. lib. vi.

PART I. A. D. 1635.

"12th day of November, in the year 1627: the exercise of the Protestant religion shall be freely permitted "in all the dominions of the empire, except the kingdom of Bohemia, and the provinces belonging to the "house of Austria: the duke of Bavaria shall be maintained in possession of the Palatinate, on condition "of paying the jointure of Frederic's widow, and granting a proper subsistence to his son, when he shall return "to his duty; and there shall be, between the emperor "and the confederates of the Augsburg confession, who "shall sign this treaty, a mutual restitution of every "thing taken since the irruption of Gustavus into the "empire [52]."

In consequence of this pacification, almost the whole weight of the war devolved upon the Swedes and the French, between whom a fresh treaty had been concluded by Richelieu and Oxenstiern; and a French army marched into Germany, in order to support the duke of Saxe-Weymar. But the success of these new hostilities, which France, Sweden, and the United Provinces maintained against both branches of the house of Austria, must furnish the subject of another letter.

52. Londorp. *Act. Pub.* tom. iv. Du Mont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. v.

LET-

LETTER LXXV.

The general View of the EUROPEAN CONTINENT *continued, from the Treaty of* PRAGUE, *in* 1635, *to the Peace of* WESTPHALIA, *in* 1648.

LETTER LXXV.

A. D. 163

WHILE Germany was a ſcene of war and deſolation, cardinal Richelieu ruled France with a rod of iron. Though univerſally hated, he continued to hold the reins of government. Several conſpiracies were formed againſt him, at the inſtigation of the duke of Orleans and the queen-mother; but they were all defeated by his vigilance and vigour, and terminated in the ruin of their contrivers. The widow of Henry IV. was baniſhed the kingdom; her ſon, Gaſton, was obliged to beg his life; the mareſchals Marillac and Montmorency were brought to the block; and the gibbets were every day loaded with inferior criminals, condemned by the moſt arbitrary ſentences, and in a court erected for the trial of the cardinal's enemies. In order to render himſelf more neceſſary to the throne, as well as to complete his political ſcheme, he now reſolved to engage France in open hoſtilities with the whole houſe of Auſtria: and had this ſtep been taken while the power of the Swedes was unbroken, and the Proteſtant princes united, it could not have failed of extraordinary ſucceſs. But Richelieu's jealouſy of Guſtavus prevented him, during the life of that monarch, from joining the arms of France to thoſe of Sweden; and Oxenſtiern, before the unfortunate battle of Nordlingen, was unwilling to give the French any footing in Germany. That overthrow altered his way of thinking: he offered to put Lewis XIII. immediately in poſſeſſion of Philipſburg and Alſace, on condition that France ſhould

PART I. A D. 1635.

take an active part in the war againſt the emperor. Richelieu readily embraced a propoſal that correſponded ſo entirely with his views. He alſo concluded an alliance with the United Provinces, in hopes of ſharing the Low Countries; and he ſent a herald to Bruſſels, in the name of his maſter, to denounce war againſt Spain[1]. A treaty was at the ſame time entered into with the duke of Savoy, in order to ſtrengthen the French intereſt in Italy.

If France had not taken a decided part in the war, the treaty of Prague would have completed the deſtruction of the Swediſh forces in Germany. But Lewis XIII. or rather cardinal Richelieu, now began to levy troops with great diligence, and five conſiderable armies were ſoon in the field. The firſt and largeſt of theſe was ſent into the Low Countries, under the mareſchals de Chatillon and Brezé; the ſecond, commanded by the duke de la Force, marched into Lorrain; the third took the route of the duchy of Milan, under the mareſchal de Crequi; the duke of Rohan led the fourth into the Valteline; and the fifth acted upon the Rhine, under Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar. In order to oppoſe the operations of the French on the ſide of Lorrain, the emperor ſent thither general Galas, an experienced officer, at the head of a powerful army, to join the duke of that territory, who intended to beſiege Colmar, and had already made himſelf maſter of almoſt all its towns in its neighbourhood. The deſign againſt Colmar, however, was defeated by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon; and la Force obliged the duke of Lorrain to abandon Burgundy, which he had

1. Auberi, *Hiſt. du Card. Rich.* Le Vaſſor, *Hiſt. Louis XIII.* This is ſaid to be the laſt declaration of war made by a herald at arms. Since that time each party has thought it ſufficient to publiſh a declaration at home, without ſending into an enemy's country a cartel of defiance.

entered in the ſpring, with a view of reducing Montbelliard. This check, and the fatigues of his march, diminiſhed the duke's army ſo much, that he was not able during the campaign to attempt any new enterprize. LETTER LXXV. A.D. 1635.

MEANWHILE Galas, the imperial general, had fixed his head-quarters at Worms, whence he ſent detachments to ravage the country, and ſurpriſe the towns that were garriſoned by the Swedes. Mentz was blocked up by count Mansfeldt; and although the preſervation of the place was of the utmoſt conſequence to the confederates, as it ſecured their communication with both ſides of the Rhine, the duke of Saxe-Weymar was in no condition to raiſe the blockade. He was ſtill more intereſted in preſerving Keiſar-Louter, where he had depoſited all the booty which he had taken ſince the beginning of the war. That place, however, though defended with ſuch obſtinacy that the greater part of the garriſon had fallen in the breach, during the different aſſaults which it had ſuſtained, was taken by ſtorm, before the duke could afford it relief. Galas, who had reduced it, afterwards ſat down before Deux Ponts; but Weymar's army being by this time reinforced with eighteen thouſand French troops, under the cardinal la Valette, the Imperial general was obliged to abandon his undertaking. Mansfeldt's lines were alſo forced, and ſupplies thrown into Mentz [a].

WHILE the confederates lay under the cannon of that city, Galas aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand men in the neighbourhood of Worms; and by ſending detachments to occupy Sarbruck, and ſeveral other places, reduced the French and Swedes to the greateſt extremity for want of proviſions. In this emergency, they

a. Barre, tom. ix. Puffend. lib. viii.

PART I. repaſſed the Rhine at Binghen, on a bridge of boats, as if their route had been for Coblentz, though their real deſign was to reach Vaudervange, where there was a French garriſon. With this view they marched night and day, without refreſhment or repoſe; yet Galas, who had croſſed the Rhine at Worms, in order to harraſs them in their retreat, overtook them with his cavalry at the river Glann, between Odernheim and Meſſenheim, where the Imperialiſts were repulſed. Not diſcouraged, however, by this check, Galas put himſelf at the head of nine thouſand horſe; traverſed the duchy of Deux Ponts, paſſed the Sarré, entered Lorrain, and waited for the confederates in a defile between Vaudervange and Boulai. There an obſtinate engagement enſued, in which the imperial cavalry was routed. The French afterwards retired to Pont à Mouſſon, and the Swedes to Moyenvie, with the wreck of their ſeveral armies; which, although victorious, were both greatly reduced. Meantime Galas, being joined by his main body, made himſelf maſter of Vaudervange, and encamped near Zagermunde, between the Sarré and the Wilde, that he might be ready to join the duke of Lorrain [3].

A.D. 1635.

The French and their allies were yet leſs ſucceſsful in other quarters. Nothing effectual was done in Italy, where the duke of Parma had the misfortune to ſee himſelf ſtript of the beſt part of his dominions by the Spaniards, notwithſtanding the efforts of Crequi and the duke of Savoy; who, in one battle, gained a conſiderable advantage over the enemy. In the Low Countries, where the higheſt hopes had been formed, the diſappointment of cardinal Richelieu was ſtill greater. He had computed on the entire conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and a ſcheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the duchy of Luxemburg, the counties of Namur,

3. Id. ib.

Hainault,

LETTER LXXV.

A. D. 1635

Hainault, Courtray, Artois, and Flanders, as far as Blackingberg, Damme, and Rupplemonde, were aſſigned to France; while Brabant, Guelderland, the territory of Waes, the lordſhip of Mechlin, and all the reſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands, were to be annexed to the republic of Holland. This ſcheme, however, proved as vain as it was ambitious. The Dutch were jealous of the growing power of France, and the prince of Orange had a perſonal piqûe at cardinal Richelieu. Therefore, although the mareſchals Brezé and Chatillon were ſo fortunate as to defeat the Flemiſh army detached by the cardinal infant to give them battle, before their junction with the forces of the United Provinces, nothing of conſequence was effected after that junction was formed. The French commanders were under the neceſſity of leading back the miſerable remains of their army, waſted with fatigue and diſeaſes; and the prince of Orange ſpent the latter part of the campaign in recovering the ſtrong fortreſs of Schenck, which had been reduced by the enemy. Nor was this all. The cardinal infant perceiving, that in conſequence of the many deſigns formed on all ſides, the frontier of Picardy lay in a manner open, ſent an army under the celebrated generals Piccolomini and John de Wert, to enter France on that ſide. This army took La Chapelle, Catelet, and Corbie; and the Pariſians perceiving the enemy within three days march of their gates, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. But, by the vigorous meaſures of Richelieu, a body of fifty thouſand men were ſuddenly aſſembled, and the Spaniards and Flemings found themſelves obliged to evacuate France [4].

HAVING ſurmounted this danger, the French miniſter took the moſt effectual ſteps to ſecure the ſucceſs of

4. Auberi, *Hiſt. du Card. Rich.*

the

PART I. A. D. 1635. the enſuing campaign. In order to recover the friendſhip of Henry prince of Orange, whom he had offended by his haughtineſs, he honoured him with the title of *Highneſs* inſtead of *Excellency*, a flattery which had the deſired effect. And he concluded a treaty with the duke of Saxe-Weymar, in which it was ſtipulated, That, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy, the duke ſhould maintain an army of eighteen thouſand men, which he ſhould command in perſon, as general of the troops belonging to the German princes in alliance with the French king, to whom he ſhould take the oath of allegiance, and that Lewis ſhould cede in his favour all the claims of France to Alſace. In conſequence of this treaty, the duke being joined by a French army, under the cardinal La Valette, began the campaign with the ſiege of Saverne, which had been taken toward the cloſe of the A. D. 1636. former year. The place made a gallant defence, in hopes of being relieved by Galas, who had promiſed to march againſt the beſiegers. Perceiving, however, the impracticability of ſuch an attempt, Galas made an irruption into Franche Compté, in conjunction with the duke of Lorrain. Meanwhile, La Valette and Weymar having recovered Saverne, omitted nothing that could obſtruct or harraſs the Imperialiſts in their march: and their endeavours were ſo ſucceſsful, that Galas loſt above ſeven thouſand men, before he entered Burgundy. He continued his march, nevertheleſs, and undertook the ſiege of St. Jean de Laon, which he was obliged to abandon, in conſequence of the overflowing of the adjacent rivers; and being faſt followed by the viſcount de Turenne, he loſt above five thouſand men, and the greater part of his baggage, in his retreat [5].

DURING theſe tranſactions in Lorrain, Alſace, and Franche Compté, a deciſive battle was fought in Upper

5. Puffend. lib. viii. Le Vaſſor, *Hiſt. de Louis XIII.*

Germany,

Germany, between the Swedes under general Bannier, and the Imperialiſts commanded by the elector of Saxony. After watching the motions of each other for ſome time, they halted in the plains of Wiſlock, where both armies prepared for battle. The Imperial camp was pitched on an eminence, and fortified with fourteen redoubts, under which the troops ſtood ready to engage. Deſirous of drawing the enemy from that advantageous poſt, Bannier ordered part of his cavalry to advance and ſkirmiſh. This feint having in ſome meaſure the intended effect, Bannier ordered colonel Gun, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, to attack the enemy, and advanced himſelf at the head of five brigades to ſupport that wing; while general Statens, with the left wing, wheeled round the hill, in order to charge the Imperialiſts in flank. Theſe attacks were executed with ſuch vigour, that the whole Auſtrian and Saxon infantry was broken or cut down. Five thouſand men fell on the field or in the purſuit; ſeven thouſand were taken, together with thirty pieces of cannon, one hundred and fifty enſigns, and an incredible number of waggons [6]. LETTER LXXV. A.D. 1636.

THE battle of Wiſlock, which reſtored the luſtre of the Swediſh arms, raiſed Bannier to the higheſt degree of military reputation, and gave a ſignal blow to the Imperial power, was followed by the demiſe of Ferdinand II. He died at Vienna, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, and was ſucceeded in the Imperial throne by his ſon Ferdinand III. The acceſſion of this prince made little alteration in the ſtate of the war: for although the firſt year of the new reign was diſtinguiſhed by no memorable enterprize, the greater part of it being waſted in fruitleſs negociations, A.D. 1637.

6. Id. ibid.

the

PART I. A. D. 1637. the next campaign was remarkably active and bloody; as if the contending powers had only been reſting themſelves, in order to renew, with more deſtructive rage, the work of death. The duke of Saxe-Weymar, who had already fully revenged the injuries of his family upon the houſe of Auſtria, advanced towards Rhinfeld early in the ſpring, and reſolved to beſiege it in form. It was ac-

A. D. 1638. cordingly inveſted; but the defence was ſo obſtinate, that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of valour and military ſkill, the Imperialiſts had time to come to its relief, under general Savelli and the famous John de Wert. Both armies were immediately ranged in order of battle, and Weymar's right wing fell with ſuch fury upon the enemy's left, commanded by Wert in perſon, that it was quickly broken. The left wing of Weymar's army was not equally ſucceſsful. On the contrary, it was repulſed; but he collected his cavalry, and repeated the charge with ſuch vigour, that the enemy muſt have been totally routed, had they not retired under cover of the ſhades of night. The battle was renewed next day, when the defeat of the Imperialiſts was completed, and both their generals made priſoners, together with a great number of inferior officers [7].

THE duke, after his victory, returned to the ſiege of Rhinfeld, to which he granted an honourable capitulation, in conſideration of its gallant defence. Newburg, Rottelen, and Friburg, the capital of Briſgaw, were alſo reduced; and the ſiege of Briſac was undertaken, with the greateſt confidence of ſucceſs. Here the duke of Lorrain, and Goeutz the Imperial general, attempted to interrupt Weymar's career, by attacking his intrenchments, but without effect. They always found him upon his guard; and Briſac was forced at laſt to ſurren-

7. Puffend. ubi ſup. Barre, tom. ix.

der.

der, after it had been reduced to ſuch extremity by famine, that the governor was obliged to ſet a guard upon the burying-places, in order to prevent the inhabitants from digging up and devouring the dead [8].

THE news of this important conqueſt no ſooner reached Paris, than Lewis XIII. formed the ſcheme of annexing Briſac to the crown of France, and made Weymar very advantageous propoſals on the ſubject. But that negociation, if puſhed, would have proved very difficult, as the duke had ſet his heart upon the county of Briſgaw, which he meant to keep in his own poſſeſſion, that it might be a thorn in the ſide of the houſe of Auſtria; againſt which his hatred was inextinguiſhable, on account of the indignities offered to his great grandfather, John Frederick, by the emperor Charles V. He thought the conqueſt of Briſac would ſecure Briſgaw, of which he intended to make an eſtabliſhment that would not eaſily be ſhaken. He therefore gallantly replied, when preſſed by the French miniſter to explain himſelf on this point; "To part with my conqueſt, "would be to ſacrifice my honour: aſk a virgin to de-"liver up her chaſtity!" He endeavoured, however, to amuſe the court of France with a pretended negociation, which was managed with ſo much dexterity by Erlach, his lieutenant, that Lewis agreed to furniſh him with a reinforcement of eight thouſand men, although nothing had been concluded in regard to Briſac [9].

WHILE the duke of Saxe-Weymar thus triumphed over the Imperialiſts in Alſace, the Swediſh general Bannier proſecuted his conqueſts in Pomerania. After the victory obtained at Wiſlock, he reduced Gartz, Loetz, Demmin, and Wolgaſt; and, underſtanding that Galas

8. *Mercur. de France*, a l'Ann. 1638. 9. Barre, tom. ix. Harte, vol. ii.

PART I. had extended his army, he ſent Stalans and Torſtenſon, two gallant officers, with a reconnoitring detachment,

A. D. 1638. that ſurpriſed and cut in pieces two regiments of Imperial horſe. But Charles Lewis, prince Palatine, ſon of the expelled elector, who had aſſembled ſome troops, and burned with impatience to re-eſtabliſh himſelf by the ſword, was leſs fortunate in Weſtphalia. Count Hasfeld, the emperor's lieutenant-general in that province, advanced againſt him with a powerful army, in order to raiſe the ſiege of Lemgau, the capital of the county of Lippe. Lewis, ſenſible that he was in no condition to defend his lines againſt ſuch a force, retreated towards Minden; but Hasfeld coming up with him in the valley of Aſtheim, an action enſued, in which victory continued long doubtful, but at laſt declared in favour of the Imperialiſts. The Palatine's little army was almoſt utterly cut off, his artillery was loſt, and his brother Robert made priſoner [10].

A. D. 1639. In the beginning of next campaign, the two victorious commanders, Bannier and Weymar, concerted meaſures for penetrating into the heart of the Auſtrian dominions. Bannier accordingly croſſed the Elbe, and made an irruption into the territories of Anhalt and Halberſtadt. Leaving his infantry and cannon behind him, he puſhed on with his cavalry, and ſurpriſed Salis, Grand-maſter of the Imperial ordnance, in the neighbourhood of Oelnitz. The conflict was obſtinate and bloody: no leſs than ſeven regiments of Imperialiſts were cut in pieces. The Swediſh general next entered Saxony, and advanced as far as the ſuburbs of Dreſden; where he defeated four Saxon regiments, and obliged a larger body of the enemy to take refuge under the cannon of that city. But underſtanding that Hasfeld, the Impe-

10. Id. ibid.

rial

rial general, was marching from Weſtphalia to interrupt his operations, he returned towards Zeitz, to join his infantry. While he remained there, intelligence was brought him, that the Saxons were encamped near Chemnitz, where they expected ſoon to be joined by the army under Hasfeld. A. D. 1639.

In order to prevent that junction, Bannier attacked the Saxon army; and, after a terrible conflict, obtained a complete victory. This ſucceſs was followed by ſeveral others. He made an irruption into Bohemia, and laid great part of the country under contribution; then returning, croſſed the Elbe, and fell upon general Hofskirk, encamped near Brandeiz, with ten regiments of imperial horſe and ſeveral battalions of foot. The action was maintained with great obſtinacy: both ſides fought with incredible intrepidity; but, at length, the Imperialiſts were forced to relinquiſh the field to the ſuperior fortune of the Swedes, with the loſs of two thouſand men. Bannier purſued them to the walls of Prague, and took the Imperial generals, Hofskirk and Monticuculi, priſoners.

On purpoſe to carry the war into Sileſia and Moravia, the Swediſh general repaſſed the Elbe, and marched towards thoſe countries. But he did not there meet with the ſucceſs he expected. The enemy's forces multiplied daily, and it was impoſſible for him, with an inferior army, to ſuccour every place that required his protection. The Proteſtants had promiſed him great aſſiſtance, but they were over-awed by the preſence of the imperial troops. No inſurrection appeared in his favour; yet was he not diſcouraged. He defeated a body of Imperialiſts at Glatz, and drove the Saxons three ſeveral times from their camp at Tirn [11].

11. Puffend. lib. xi. Loccen. lib. ix.

But

PART I. A. D. 1639.

BUT all the aſpiring hopes of Bannier and the Swedes were ſuddenly blaſted, by the immature death of Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar. He had begun the campaign with the ſiege of Thau, which he ordered to be battered with red-hot bullets; a mode of attack which threw the inhabitants into ſuch conſternation, that they ſurrendered almoſt inſtantly, though they had before baffled all the efforts of the French general Guebriant. Bernard's character was now ſo high, and his army ſo formidable to the imperial throne, that Ferdinand made ſome ſecret attempts to detach him from the French intereſt. But inſtead of liſtening to ſuch propoſals, which he conſidered as inſidious, or ſlackening in his operations, he vigorouſly exerted himſelf in taking meaſures for paſſing the Rhine. While thus employed, he fell ſick at Hunningen, whence he was tranſported by water to Newburg, and there expired in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He is ſuppoſed to have fallen a ſacrifice to the jealouſy and ambition of cardinal Richelieu, who was not only deſirous of getting poſſeſſion of Briſac, but afraid that his ſcheme of humbling the houſe of Auſtria might be defeated, if the duke of Saxe-Weymar ſhould cloſe with the emperor's propoſals. Puffendorf not only ſupports this opinion, but poſitively affirms, that the duke was taken off by poiſon, and that his body had all the marks of it [12].

THE death of Weymar was no ſooner known, than a violent conteſt aroſe who ſhould poſſeſs his army. Endeavours were uſed by the Swediſh agents in Germany to engage the officers and ſoldiers to join general Bannier; the emperor took every meaſure in his power to draw them into his ſervice, and regain poſſeſſion of the places which the duke had conquered; and Charles

12. *Comment. de Reb. Suec.* lib. xi. ſec. xxxix.

Lewis,

Lewis, prince Palatine, the re-eſtabliſhment of whoſe family had been the chief cauſe of the war, attempted to gain them through the influence of England and Holland. But cardinal Richelieu ordered Lewis to be arreſted at Moulins, in his return from London, and carried priſoner to the caſtle of Vincennes, where he was confined, till a treaty was concluded between France and the Weymarian officers. It was ſtipulated, That the troops of Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weymar, ſhould conſtitute a ſeparate body, under the direction of the officers named in his will for that purpoſe; that the French king ſhould keep this body always effective, by the payment of a certain annual ſum for raiſing recruits; that he ſhould continue to the principal officers the ſame appointments which they had enjoyed under the duke, furniſh them with bread, ammunition, and all other neceſſaries of war, and ratify the ſeveral donations which Bernard had made to his officers and ſoldiers; that the troops ſhould receive their orders from the duke of Longueville, through the medium of their own commanders, who ſhould be ſummoned to all councils held for the ſervice of the common cauſe; that the conquered places ſhould be put into the hands of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, who might, at pleaſure, appoint governors for Briſac and Friburg, but that the garriſons ſhould conſiſt of an equal number of French and German ſoldiers, and the governors of the other places be choſen from the Weymarian army [13].

13. Londorp. *Act. Pub.* vol. iv. Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weymar, was a ſoldier of fortune, and one of the generals formed under Guſtavus. After the death of that monarch, and the fatal battle of Nordlingen, where the Swedes under his command were cut off almoſt to a man, he collected an army of Germans, which was properly his own, and which he ſupported partly by the practice of war, and partly by the ſubſidy that he received from France. Notwithſtanding his immature death, and the defeat at Nordlingen, he may be ranked among the greateſt modern commanders. Turenne always acknowledged him to have been his maſter in the military ſcience. *Mem. de la Farre.*

PART I. A. D. 1640.

In conſequence of this important negociation, which rendered the king of France ſovereign of almoſt all Alſace, and great part of Briſgaw, the duke of Longueville, with the Weymarian army, mareſchal Guebriant, with the French troops, and the troops of Lunenburg, commanded by general Klitzing, joined Bannier at Erfurt. Nothing farther was now neceſſary to enſure ſucceſs to the confederates beſide unanimity, but that unfortunately was wanting. All claiming ſuperiority, none choſe to be directed, as each entertained a high opinion of his own merit, and ſought to diſplay his judgment, by propoſing ſome new plan of operations; ſo that Bannier found, that, although he had increaſed his numbers, he had acquired little additional ſtrength. Perhaps his real force might rather be ſaid to be diminiſhed, as he was no longer allowed to follow the ſuggeſtions of his own genius, and ſtrike thoſe ſudden and unexpected blows which diſtinguiſh the conſummate general.

After long debates, it was agreed to attack Picolomini, the Imperial general, in his camp at Saltzſburg. With this view the confederates ſeized upon an eminence, whence they began a violent cannonading, and afterwards attacked the enemy's entrenchments ſword in hand; but Picolomini was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that the attempt to force his camp was found impracticable. It was accordingly laid aſide; and both armies continued in ſight of each other, until ſcarcity began to reign in each camp. There ſeemed to be a kind of rivalry, who could longeſt endure the preſſure of famine. But, on the ſide of the confederates, this inaction proceeded from irreſolution, and a diviſion of counſels; whereas, on that of the Imperialiſts, it was dictated by a prudent caution. Bannier, however, tired of ſuch languid delay, ſet out for Franconia, in order to ſeize ſome advantageous poſt upon the Maine. But as he advanced toward the river

Sala, he perceived that the enemy occupied the oppoſite bank. They were there entrenched; ſo that it was impoſſible for him to force a paſſage: he was therefore under the neceſſity of marching through the landgraviate of Heſſe, where his army ſuffered greatly by famine. LETTER LXXV. A. D. 1640

PICOLOMINI now endeavoured to penetrate into Lunenburg, but Bannier's diligence baffled all his efforts. He prevented the Imperialiſts from croſſing the Weſer, and refreſhed his own army in that duchy, which had not yet been exhauſted by the ravages of war. Pinched with famine, and harraſſed by the perpetual alarms of the Heſſians, Picolomini determined to lead his forces into Franconia. But, on his march thither, he was attacked by the Weymarian army, under the duke of Longueville; and, although not totally defeated, he could ſcarce have ſuffered more by ſuch diſaſter[14]. It muſt, however, be conſidered as very honourable for that general, to have been able to make head againſt the combined forces of the confederates, and even to oblige them to quit the Imperial dominions.

BUT the houſe of Auſtria was leſs fortunate in other quarters, during the year 1640. The affairs of Philip IV. went backward in Italy: Catalonia revolted, and Portugal threw off the Spaniſh yoke. The Catalans were deſirous of forming a republic; but too feeble to ſupport themſelves againſt the power of a tyrannical maſter, they were obliged to throw themſelves into the arms of France, and ultimately to ſubmit to the dominion of Spain. The Portugueſe were more ſucceſsful in their ſtruggle for independency. Boiling with national hate, and irritated by deſpotic rule, they had long ſought to break their chains. A law to compel the no-

14. Puffend. lib. xii. Barre, tom. ix. Le Vaſſor, *Hiſt. Louis XIII.*

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bility, under pain of the forfeiture of their eſtates, to take up arms for the ſubjection of Catalonia, completed the general diſaffection: and other circumſtances conſpired to haſten a revolution. An impenetrable plot had been forming, for upwards of three years, in favour of the duke of Braganza, whoſe grandfather had been deprived of his right to the crown of Portugal by Philip II. The conſpirators now reſolved to carry their deſign into execution, and effected it with incredible facility.

OLIVAREZ had been ſo imprudent as to recall the Spaniſh garriſon from Liſbon: very few troops were left in the whole realm of Portugal; the oppreſſed people were ripe for an inſurrection; and the Spaniſh miniſter, in order to amuſe the duke of Braganza, whoſe ruin he meditated, had given him the command of the arſenal. The ducheſs of Mantua, who had been honoured with the empty title of vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom without a blow. Vaſconcellos, the Spaniſh ſecretary, and one of his clerks, were the only victims ſacrificed to public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of the capital, and almoſt on the ſame day. The duke of Braganza was unanimouſly proclaimed king, under the name of John IV. A ſon does not ſucceed more quietly to the poſſeſſions of his father in a well regulated ſtate. Ships were immediately diſpatched from Liſbon to all the Portugueſe ſettlements in Aſia and Africa, as well as to thoſe in the iſlands of the eaſtern and weſtern ocean: and they all, with one accord, expelled their Spaniſh governors [15]. Portugal became again an independent kingdom; and by the recovery of Brazil, which, during the Spaniſh adminiſtration, had been conquered by the Dutch, its former luſtre was in ſome meaſure reſtored.

15. Vertot, *Hiſt. de la Revolut. du Portugal.*

WHILE

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WHILE all Europe rung with the news of this ſingular revolution, Philip IV. ſhut up in the inmoſt receſſes of the Eſcurial, loſt in the delirium of licentious pleaſure, or bewildered in the maze of idle amuſement, was utterly ignorant of it. The manner in which Olivarez made him acquainted with his misfortune is truly memorable. "I come," ſaid that artful miniſter, "to "communicate good news to your majeſty: the duke "of Braganza's whole fortune is become yours. He "has been ſo preſumptuous as to get himſelf declared "king of Portugal; and in conſequence of this folly, "your majeſty is entitled to the forfeiture of all his "eſtates."—"Let the ſequeſtration be ordered!" replied Philip, and continued his diſſipations [16]. A.D. 1640.

THE emperor Ferdinand III. was of a leſs patient, or rather of a leſs indolent temper. He had convoked a diet at Ratiſbon, in order to concert meaſures for carrying on the war, though he pretended to be deſirous of peace. Bannier formed the deſign of diſperſing this aſſembly, and even of ſurpriſing the city. Having joined the French army under Guebriant at Erfurt, he arrived at Hoff on the ſixth of January; and detaching thence five regiments of cavalry to Egra, under the command of major-general Wittemberg, who had orders to join the army at Porew, he advanced to Awerbach. The confederates next proceeded to Schwendorf, croſſed the Danube upon the ice, and captured above fifteen hundred of the enemy's horſe. The emperor himſelf, who intended to devote that day to the chace, narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner. His advanced guard and equipage were taken. A.D. 1641.

THE approach of the French and Swediſh armies filled Ratiſbon with conſternation, as it was utterly un-

16. *Anecdotes du Duc d'Olivarez.*

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provided againſt a ſiege, and full of ſtrangers and ſuſpected perſons. The deſign of the confederates was to take advantage of the froſt, in order to block up and ſtarve the town; but the weather unexpectedly becoming more mild, it was reſolved to repaſs the Danube, before the ice ſhould be thawed. Bannier, however, would not retire until he had made an attempt to diſſolve the diet. With that view, he approached Ratiſbon, on the ſixth of February; and Guebriant, who commanded the vanguard, placing his artillery on the banks of the Rugen, which ran between the town and the confederates, ſaluted the emperor with five hundred ſhot; an inſult, which ſtung Ferdinand ſo keenly, that he ſeemed bereft of all the powers of reaſon and recollection [17].

DURING the deliberations of the diet at Ratiſbon, the counts d'Avaux and Salvius, the plenipotentiaries of France and Sweden, were negociating at Hamburg the preliminaries of a general peace, with Lutzau, one of Ferdinand's aulic counſellors. After certain difficulties had been removed, it was agreed by theſe celebrated ſtateſmen, That a congreſs for a general peace ſhould be held at Munſter and Oſnabrug, the garriſons of which ſhould march out; that the inhabitants ſhould be releaſed from their oath of allegiance to either party, and obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the time of negociation; that both cities ſhould be guarded by their own burghers and ſoldiers, commanded by the magiſtrates, who ſhould be accountable for the effects, perſons, and attendants of the negociators; that the two conferences ſhould be conſidered as only one congreſs, and the roads between the two cities be ſafe for all goers and comers, together with the intermediate places, where the negociators might think proper to confer with each other; that in

17. *Hiſt. du Gueb.* liv. iv.

caſe

caſe the negociation ſhould be interrupted before a treaty could be concluded, Munſter and Oſnabrug ſhould return to the ſame ſituation in which they were before the congreſs, but that the neutrality ſhould be obſerved ſix weeks after the conferences were broken off; that all the ſafe-conducts on each ſide ſhould be exchanged at Hamburg, through the mediation of the Daniſh ambaſſador, in the ſpace of two months after the date of the agreement; that the emperor and king of Spain, ſhould grant ſafe-conducts to the miniſters of France, Sweden, and their allies in Germany and elſewhere, and receive the ſame ſecurity from his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and that Sweden ſhould grant ſafe-conducts to the emperor's plenipotentiaries, as well as to thoſe of the electors of Mentz and Brandenburgh [18]. It was farther agreed, That France ſhould treat at Munſter, and Sweden at Oſnabrug; and that each crown ſhould have a ſecretary where the other's plenipotentiary was, in order to communicate their mutual reſolutions.

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THE emperor refuſed to ratify this convention, which he ſaid was prejudicial to his honour, as well as to the intereſts of the Germanic body; and certain unexpected events, fatal to the hopes of the confederates, confirmed him in his reſolution of continuing the war. After the ineffectual attempt upon Ratiſbon, the French ſeparated themſelves from the Swedes, and marched toward Bamberg, under Guebriant, while Bannier took the route of Chamb, with a view of penetrating into Miſnia through Bohemia. Meanwhile the emperor, flaming with rage, iſſued orders for aſſembling a body of troops, with all poſſible diſpatch, in order to revenge the inſult he had ſuffered.

18. Dumont, *Corps Diplomat.* tom. vi.

PART I. A POWERFUL army was ſpeedily formed by the activity of Picolomini and the Archduke Leopold. One part of it, under mareſchal Gleen, went in purſuit of Bannier, while the other, commanded by Picolomini, beſieged Newmarck, which was defended by an officer of the name of Slang; who, after having ſuſtained five aſſaults, was obliged to ſurrender priſoner of war. On the reduction of that place, Picolomini rejoined Gleen, in order to purſue Bannier, who retreated acroſs the foreſt of Bohemia. Having reached the other ſide of it, he found his progreſs impeded by the ſwelling of the river Pleis, but collected a number of boats, in which he embarked his troops with ſuch expedition, that he had carried over his whole army before Picolomini appeared upon the oppoſite bank. Neither this diſappointment, however, the interpoſing ſtream, nor the preſence of the enemy, retarded the progreſs of the Imperialiſts. The Auſtrian cavalry ſwam acroſs the river; and the Swedes being now hemmed in between the Pleis and the Moldaw, Bannier's ruin ſeemed inevitable, when he extricated himſelf by one of thoſe efforts of military genius, which redound more to the honour of a general than the acquiſition of the greateſt victory, as fortune has no ſhare in the ſucceſs.

A.D. 1641.

FINDING himſelf thus circumſtanced, the Swediſh general poſted ſome troops at a mill below Preſnitz; where they made ſuch an obſtinate and vigorous reſiſtance, when attacked by Picolomini, that the main body of the army had time to retire to Zickaw, whither their baggage and artillery alſo were conveyed in the night. Here Bannier was joined by Guebriant, who had put himſelf in motion, as ſoon as he received intelligence of the reduction of Newmarck; ſo that the confederates were now in a condition to make head againſt the Imperialiſts. But before any ſtep could be taken

taken for that purpoſe, Bannier fell ſick at Zickaw, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone in his march, and expired at Halberſtadt, in the forty-firſt year of his age, to the infinite loſs, and inexpreſſible regret of his country, as well as of her allies. Beſide his knowledge in the art of war, which he had acquired under the great Guſtavus, to whom he was ſcarcely inferior as a commander, he was diſtinguiſhed by his moderation and humanity toward thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed. He always avoided the effuſion of blood, as far as circumſtances would admit; and being robuſt, patient, indefatigable, and active, he was adored by the ſoldiery, whoſe toils and dangers he chearfully ſhared [19].

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THE death of Bannier raiſed the ſpirits of the Imperialiſts, in proportion as it depreſſed thoſe of the confederates, and the moſt dangerous conſequences were apprehended from it; for his army was compoſed almoſt entirely of Germans, who were retained in the ſervice of Sweden ſolely by the reputation and authority of their general. But the troops, though at firſt inclined to mutiny, were preſerved in obedience by the vigilance of the other Swediſh commanders; Wrangel, Koningſmark, Wittemberg, and Pfuhl, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of the emperor, and their own neceſſitous condition, until the arrival of Torſtenſon; another general formed under Guſtavus, and not unworthy of ſo great a maſter. In order to give him more influence over the army, he was furniſhed with a large ſum of money by the treaſury of Sweden, and accompanied with a ſtrong reinforcement.

BEFORE this reinforcement arrived, the Swedes and French, under the command of Guebriant, had de-

19. Puffend. *Comment. Reb. Suec.* lib. xii.

feated

PART I. A. D. 1641. feated the Imperial army, led by the archduke and Picolomini, near Wolfenbuttle. Four thouſand Imperialiſts were ſlain upon the ſpot, and a great number taken priſoners [20]. No other event of conſequence diſtinguiſhed the latter part of the campaign, which was chiefly ſpent in waiting for Torſtenſon, at an encampment near Stadt; and ſoon after he aſſumed the command, the French and Swediſh armies ſeparated by order of cardinal Richelieu. Guebriant entered Weſtphalia, and Torſtenſon led his troops into Bohemia; where he propoſed to winter, and attempt, as ſoon as the ſeaſon ſhould permit, to prove himſelf worthy of the confidence of his country.

MEANWHILE a new treaty was concluded between France and Sweden, and the moſt vigorous reſolutions were taken for proſecuting the war. Mareſchal Guebriant accordingly croſſed the Rhine early in the ſpring, upon a bridge of boats, built at Weſel; marched to Ordinguen, which ſurrendered at diſcretion; and underſtanding, that Hasfeld was on his march to join Lamboy, another Imperial general, whoſe quarters were near Kempen, he reſolved to prevent their junction, by attacking the latter in his entrenchments. With this view he left his baggage at Ordinguen; advanced towards the enemy; drew up his army in order of battle, and proceeded to the aſſault. After an obſtinate ſtruggle, the Auſtrian infantry was broken, and the camp forced; and Lamboy, who rallied his troops, and returned to
A. D. 1642. the charge, was ſurrounded and made priſoner, together with general Merci. Of the whole Imperial army not above ſix hundred eſcaped.

20. Barre, tom. ix. Puffend. lib. xiii.

THIS

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THIS victory was followed by the reduction of Lintz, Bevert, Berchem, Caſter, and Guewembruck; ſo that Guebriant ſaw himſelf maſter, in a ſhort time, of almoſt the whole electorate of Cologne. His next ſtep was to beſiege Kempen, which was defended with great gallantry and ſkill; but a large breach being at length made in the fortifications, the governor, convinced that it would be impoſſible to ſuſtain an aſſault, capitulated upon honourable terms [21].

THE defeat of Lamboy, and the rapid ſucceſs of the French general, did not, however, divert the archduke and Picolomini, who commanded the Imperialiſts in Moravia, from marching againſt Torſtenſon. They intended to ſurpriſe him in his camp; but finding all their attempts and expectations defeated, by the vigilance of the Swediſh general, in the true ſpirit of Italian policy, Picolomini had recourſe to treachery, by which he hoped to earn the reward of valour and military ſkill. With this view he corrupted one Sekendorf, a Swediſh colonel, who promiſed to admit the Imperialiſts into the camp by night. Fortunately the deſign was diſcovered, and the traitor puniſhed: nor did his employers eſcape chaſtiſement. The duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who had marched towards Schwents, in order to check the progreſs of Torſtenſon, in Sileſia, was defeated and mortally wounded; and in that condition was taken priſoner with the greater part of his officers, three thouſand of his men being left dead on the field.

SOON after this victory, Torſtenſon paſſed the Elbe, with an intention to beſiege Leipſic; and having ſeized two poſts, the poſſeſſion of which might facilitate that

21. Id. ibid.

enter-

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enterprize, he ordered general Koningſmark to inveſt the place. But the approach of the Imperialiſts, under the archduke and Picolomini, obliged him to convert the ſiege into a blockade, and make preparations for receiving the enemy. Meanwhile they advanced in ſuch a form, that the Swedes were between the imperial army and the town; and Torſtenſon finding himſelf expoſed to two fires, filed off his troops into the plain of Breitenfeld, about three miles diſtant from Leipſic. The imperial generals, imagining his deſign was to avoid an action, endeavoured to harraſs his rear; but the Swediſh commander, who wiſhed for nothing more than ſuch an opportunity, faced about immediately. A mutual cannonading enſued, and ſoon after a cloſe engagement. Wittemberg, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, charged the left of the Imperialiſts with ſuch impetuoſity, that it was inſtantly broken. Their right wing, however, behaved with more firmneſs; and the Swediſh cavalry, commanded by Koningſmark, was in danger, for a time, of being routed by the emperor's cuiraſſiers. But the latter were obliged at length to give way.

WHILE the cavalry of both armies thus diſputed the victory, the infantry in the centre fought with inexpreſſible rage and reſolution. At length the Swediſh foot, animated by the example of the horſe, and ſupported by a body of reſerve, which advanced in the heat of action, obliged the Imperialiſts to quit the field, and retreat into a wood, with the loſs of their cannon. Torſtenſon purſued the left wing as far as Leipſic; Koningſmark gave no quarter to the right; and the Auſtrian infantry being driven from the wood, into which they had retired, were ſurrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces [22].

22. Puffend. lib. xiv. Barre, tom. ix.

IN

LETTER LXXV.

A. D. 1642.

IN this battle, which was fought near the ſame ſpot that had beheld the glory of the Swedes, under Guſtavus, a few years before, the Imperialiſts loſt eight thouſand good ſoldiers; and three hundred officers were found among the ſlain. The conquerors, who had engaged with very inferior numbers, did not loſe above a thouſand men. Beſides the ſlaughter of the enemy, they took three thouſand priſoners, together with forty-ſix pieces of cannon, one hundred and ſixteen pair of colours, and ſix hundred waggons [23].

A DEFEAT ſo total overwhelmed the Imperial court with conſternation. General Enkenford was ordered to make new levies with all poſſible expedition; Hasfeld and Wahl were ſent for to Vienna; Goltaker and Galtz exerted their utmoſt diligence to join the archduke and Picolomini in Bohemia, whither they had retired to re-aſſemble the wreck of their army. All the troops in the Auſtrian ſervice were collected to ſtop the progreſs of the victorious Torſtenſon.

THAT general had again inveſted Leipſic, and carried on his approaches with ſuch vigour, that the place was under the neceſſity of ſurrendering, notwithſtanding the valour of the garriſon, which excited the admiration of the beſiegers. Torſtenſon was leſs fortunate in his attempt upon Fridburg, where he underſtood the enemy had collected large magazines: for although conſiderable breaches were made in the fortifications, and an aſſault given, the garriſon ſuſtained it with ſuch unſhaken reſolution, that he was obliged to recall his troops; and while he was making preparations for a final effort, he learned that Picolomini, at the head of a conſiderable army, was approaching to the re-

23. Id. ibid.

lief

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lief of the place. On this intelligence, he ranged his troops in order of battle, and put himſelf in motion to meet the enemy; but Picolomini penetrating his deſign, took a different route, threw ſupplies into the town, and retired with the utmoſt expedition. Now deſpairing of being able to reduce Fridburg, Torſtenſon marched into Luſatia, in order to wait for the reinforcements which he expected from Pomerania and Lower Saxony; and Guebriant, the French general, having paſſed the Maine at Gemund, eſtabliſhed quarters of refreſhment on the Taubet, and marched toward the Necker [24].

WHILE the confederates were thus making progreſs in Germany, the arms of France had been equally ſucceſsful on the ſide of Spain. A French army had entered Rouſſillon, and reduced Colima and Perpignan. Meantime the affairs of the kingdom were in the greateſt confuſion, and Paris itſelf was in danger. Franciſco de Melo, a man of valour and abilities, who had ſucceeded the cardinal infant in the government of the Low Countries, having ſuddenly aſſembled a body of twenty-five thouſand men, threatened France with two inroads; routed the count de Guiche, who attempted to oppoſe him, and would have appeared before the capital, to which he had opened a paſſage, had he not received a letter from Olivarez, ordering him to withdraw his troops, under pretence that the enterprize was too hazardous. But the true reaſon for ſuch order was, a ſecret treaty between the Spaniſh miniſter and the duke of Orleans; who, with the duke of Bouillon, Cinqmars, maſter of the horſe, and M. de Thou, had conſpired the ruin of Richelieu, whom they had already brought into diſcredit with the king.

24. Barre, tom. ix. Puffend. lib. xiv.

FOR-

LETTER LXXV.

FORTUNATELY however for the cardinal, whoſe life was at once in danger from violence and diſeaſe, he got intelligence of the treaty with Spain, nearly at the ſame time that Louis received the news of Guiche's defeat. In the perplexity occaſioned by that diſaſter, the king paid a viſit to Richelieu. The cardinal complained of ill uſage: Louis confeſſed his weakneſs; a reconciliation took place, and the conſpirators were arreſted. The duke of Orleans was diſgraced; Cinqmars and de Thou loſt their heads; and the duke of Bouillon, in order to ſave his life, was obliged to yield up the principality of Sedan to the crown [25]. Thus victorious over all his enemies, Richelieu, though ſtill on the verge of the grave, entered Paris in a kind of triumph, a breach being made in the walls, in order to admit the ſuperb litter on which he was carried. While on his way, and hardly able to hold the pen, he wrote to the king the following ſhort letter, which is highly expreſſive of his haughty character: "Your enemies are dead, and "your troops in poſſeſſion of Perpignan [26]!" A.D. 1642.

So many loſſes, the confederates expected, would have diſpoſed the houſe of Auſtria ſincerely to liſten to terms of accommodation; but as the courts of Vienna and Madrid foreſaw that France and Sweden, at ſuch a juncture, would neceſſarily be high in their demands, they ſeemed very indifferent about renewing the negociations. It was at length, however, agreed to open the conferences for a general peace, in the month of July the year following; and the preliminaries being publiſhed, all the unhappy people who had been ſo long expoſed to the calamities of war, congratulated themſelves on the pleaſing proſpect of tranquility, when the death of cardinal Richelieu, and alſo of his maſter, A.D. 1643.

25. Batt. Nani, lib. xii. 26. Auberi, *Hiſt. du Card. Rich. Mem. de Madame Motteville.*

Lewis

PART I. A. D. 1643.

Lewis XIII. once more diſcoloured the ſcene. The Swedes, who were doubtful of the politics of the new adminiſtration, began to think of concluding a ſeparate treaty with the emperor. But their fears were ſoon diſpelled by the ſteady meaſures of cardinal Mazarine, who ſhewed himſelf no unworthy ſucceſſor of Richelieu, whoſe plan he purſued with vigour. All the operations of war were concerted with as much judgment as formerly; ſupplies of every kind were furniſhed with equal punctuality; and a young hero ſprung up to do honour to France during the minority of Lewis XIV. This hero was the celebrated duke d'Enguien, afterwards honoured with the title of the Great Condé. He cut to pieces, in the plains of Rocroi, the famous Walloon and Caſtilian infantry, with an inferior army, and took Thionville, into which the Spaniſh general, Franciſco de Melo, after his defeat, had thrown a reinforcement of ten thouſand men. Nine thouſand Spaniards and Walloons are ſaid to have fallen in the battle of Rocroi[28].

THE arms of France were leſs fortunate in Germany. The duke of Lorrain renounced his alliance with that kingdom, and took upon himſelf the command of the Bavarian troops; and Guebriant being mortally wounded before Rotweil, which however was reduced, a miſunderſtanding after his death prevailed among the principal officers of the French army. This was followed by its natural conſequence, a relaxation in diſcipline, the uſual fore-runner of a defeat. The count de Rantzau, who had ſucceeded Guebriant in the chief command, marched to the neighbourhood of Dutlingen, in Suabia. There the count de Merci, the Bavarian general, ſurpriſed, routed, and took him priſoner, with the greater part of

27. *Mem. de Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii.

his

his officers, and about four thouſand private men. The remains of the French army retreated to Alſace, where they were happily collected by mareſchal Turenne, who was ſent thither for that purpoſe [28]. LETTER LXXV. A.D. 1643.

THE eyes of all Europe were now turned towards the negociations at Munſter and Oſnabrug. The plenipotentiaries named by the emperor were the count d'Averſperg, and the baron de Krane, with Henry duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who was chief of the embaſſy: France deputed the count d'Avaux and de Servien, counſellor of ſtate; Sweden, Salvius, aſſiſted by a ſon of the celebrated chancellor Oxenſtiern; and Spain, the marquis de Caſtel Roderigo and Diego de Saavreda. Deputies were alſo named by the other European powers intereſted in the negociations. The Swediſh garriſon quitted Oſnabrug, which, together with Munſter, was by the baron de Krane releaſed from the oath that the citizens had taken to the emperor; and the regencies of both cities ſwore that they would obſerve an exact neutrality, and protect the perſons and effects of the negociators [29].

IN the midſt of theſe advances towards peace, Torſtenſon was ordered by the court of Sweden to carry war into the duchy of Holſtein; the regency being incenſed againſt the king of Denmark, whom they accuſed of concealing all the hoſtile intentions of an enemy under the maſk of a mediator. He had taken ſeveral Swediſh veſſels in the Sound, and refuſed to give ſatisfaction to the regency, which complained of theſe acts of hoſtility. It was therefore reſolved in a general aſſembly of the ſtates of Sweden, to make repriſals. That reſolution, however, was not publicly known till the

28. Id. ibid. Barre, tom. ix. tom. vi.

29. Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.*

PART I. A.D. 1643.

moment that Torſtenſon invaded Holſtein; where he reduced Oldiſloe, Kiel, Chriſtian-pries, and ſeveral other places of importance [30].

CHRISTIAN IV. alarmed at this irruption, complained of it to Torſtenſon as a palpable infringement of the treaty lately concluded between Denmark and Sweden. But finding that the Swediſh general, inſtead of paying any regard to ſuch remonſtrance, penetrated into Jutland, and made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the towns in that province, his Daniſh majeſty had recourſe to the emperor, who ordered Galas to march to his aſſiſtance in the depth of winter. The Imperialiſts, though much retarded by the ſnow, which rendered the roads almoſt impaſſable, at length appeared on the frontiers of Holſtein; where a reſolution was taken to ſtarve the Swedes in Jutland, by occupying the defiles between Stockholm and Sleſwick. This deſign, however, was rendered abortive by the vigilance of Torſtenſon, who marched towards Rendſburg with an intention to give Galas battle, in caſe he ſhould diſpute the paſſage; and as the Imperialiſts did not think proper to give him the leaſt moleſtation, he quitted Holſtein, intercepted ſome of their convoys, and encamped near Ratzburg [31].

MEANWHILE France finding the general negociations diſturbed by the war between Sweden and Denmark, ſent M. de la Thuillerie to Copenhagen, in order to bring about an accommodation. His propoſals, however, met with little attention, until the retreat of the Imperialiſts, and an advantage gained by the Swedes over their northern neighbours at ſea, made the Daniſh monarch more tractable. Deſpairing of being able to obtain freſh ſuccours from

30. Puffend. lib. xv. Barre, tom. ix. 31. Id. ibid.

the

LETTER LXXV.

the emperor, the haughty and violent Chriſtian now liſtened to the mediation of France. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Bromſboo, by which Sweden reſtored to Denmark all the towns Torſtenſon had taken in Holſtein; and Chriſtian, on his part, ceded to Sweden, Jemptie, Halland, the iſland of Gothland, and the citadel and town of Wiſbie, with all the iſles depending upon it. Beſides this treaty, which enabled Sweden to act with all her forces againſt the houſe of Auſtria, Thuillerie concluded another between France and Denmark, by which Chriſtian agreed to yield no aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of France or thoſe of her allies [32].

A. D. 1644.

THE emperor was in no condition to prevent the ratification of theſe treaties. Turenne had retrieved the affairs of France upon the Rhine, which he croſſed at Briſac, and advancing with a ſmall army towards the ſource of the Danube, routed the Imperialiſts, commanded by the baron de Merci. He afterwards attempted the relief of Friburg, which was inveſted by the Bavarian army, under the count de Merci, brother of the baron; but finding himſelf too weak to act with vigour againſt the enemy, he retired, and fortified a camp within a league of the town, whence he had the mortification to ſee it ſurrender. Meantime cardinal Mazarine, informed that the French army was very inferior in ſtrength to the Bavarians, ordered the celebrated Lewis de Bourbon, duke d'Enguien, whom I have already had occaſion to mention, and who was ſon to the prince of Condé, to join Turenne with a reinforcement. Theſe two generals attacked the count de Merci near Friburg, with ſuch impetuoſity, that notwithſtanding his advantageous ſituation, which ſeemed to place him beyond the reach of

32. Puffend. lib. xv.

PART I. A. D. 1644.

danger, he was obliged to retire with the loſs of three thouſand men.

THIS action, which laſted ſeven hours, was immediately followed by another, in which the Bavarians gained at firſt ſome advantage. But the duke d'Enguien rallied his troops, which ſeemed diſpoſed to quit the field; and boldly marching againſt the enemy, drove them three times from their entrenchments, which they as often regained: and victory at laſt remained undecided, as neither party quitted its ground. Merci, however, who had loſt one half of his army, reſolved to avoid a third ſhock by a quick retreat. This he effected in good order, notwithſtanding all the attempts of the French to break his rear; and reſolutely continuing his march, he ſafely reached the country of Wurtemburg with the remains of his troops, leaving to the enemy his artillery and baggage, with all the towns ſituated between the Rhine and the Moſelle, from Mentz to Landaw [33].

NOR were France and Sweden the only foreign powers that incommoded the emperor. Mazarine and Oxenſtiern, in order the better to command the negociations, as well as to furniſh employment for Ferdinand, while the Swedes were engaged in the Daniſh war, had formed an alliance with Ragotſki, vaivode of Tranſylvania; and that prince, with the conſent of the grand ſignior, to whom he was tributary, entered Hungary at the head of thirty thouſand men, and took Caſſovia. In juſtification of his conduct he publiſhed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the Hungarian nobility, in which he aſſured them, that his ſole view in taking up arms was to defend their liberties and privileges againſt the ambition of the emperor, who intended to make that elective kingdom hereditary in his

33. Barre, tom. ix.

family.

family. This manifeſto was anſwered by Ferdinand, who ſent a body of veteran troops, under general Goeutz, to expel the Tranſylvanian prince; and Ragotſki's troops being raw and undiſciplined, he durſt not hazard an engagement, though ſuperior in numbers to the enemy. Other circumſtances conſpired to haſten his retreat. He received intelligence that the grand vizier, the chief ſupport of his intereſt at the court of Conſtantinople, was dead, and that the king of Poland intended to declare war againſt him. He was eagerly purſued by Goeutz; but the country being deſtitute of proviſions, the imperial troops were waſted with famine and fatigue, and afterwards totally ruined at the ſiege of Caſſovia, where the vaivode had left five regiments, which defended the place with ſingular bravery. That defence, and the loſs of the Imperialiſts, inſpired Ragotſki with freſh courage He rejected with diſdain the terms of peace offered him by Ferdinand; and was of infinite ſervice to Sweden by dividing the forces of the empire, while her troops were employed in Holſtein againſt the king of Denmark [34].

LETTER LXV. A. D. 1644.

TORSTENSON, whom we have ſeen commanding in Holſtein, purſued into Lower Saxony Galas, the imperial general, whoſe army there experienced a fate ſimilar to that under Goeutz in Hungary; it being almoſt utterly deſtroyed by famine, fatigue, and the ſword of the Swedes. Having now no enemy to oppoſe him, Torſtenſon entered Bohemia, and marched directly towards Prague, in hopes of ſurpriſing that city, and taking priſoners the emperor and the archduke Leopold, who had reſided there for ſome time. In this bold attempt, however, he was diſappointed. Ferdinand was no ſooner appriſed of the march of the Swedes, than he ordered all the troops that could be aſſembled to approach the

34. Id. ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1645.

place of his reſidence, under Galas, Hasfeld, John de Wert (who had at laſt obtained his liberty), and the counts Brouay and Montecuculi. But all theſe forces, commanded by ſuch able generals, not being ſufficient to diſſipate his fears, the emperor retired with the archduke to Vienna [35].

MEANTIME the imperial army being completely formed, encamped between Thabor and Budeweis, at a ſmall diſtance from the Swedes, and each party watched the motions of the other with equal diligence and addreſs. Here the ſuperior genius of Torſtenſon was conſpicuous. In order to decoy the Imperialiſts from their advantageous poſition, he ſpread a report, that he intended to march into Moravia, and actually took the route to that province; but finding he had gained his point, as the enemy were in motion to follow him, he returned and encamped near Strockwits. Soon after he paſſed the Moldaw, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Thabor, whither he was followed by the enemy. Nothing paſſed, for ſome days, but ſlight ſkirmiſhes; for although both armies were eager to engage, neither would quit the poſt it had ſeized, in order to attack the other. At length however Torſtenſon, truſting to the valour of his troops, reſolved to give the Imperialiſts battle. He accordingly advanced toward their camp, in a threatening poſture, about break of day, when a briſk cannonading began; and by ſeven in the morning, both armies were engaged in cloſe fight, which was continued for the ſpace of four hours with incredible obſtinacy. In the beginning of the action, the left wing of the Swedes began to give ground; but being ſupported in time, the battle was reſtored, and Torſtenſon charged the Imperialiſts with ſuch fury, that their ca-

35. Heiſs, liv. iii. chap. x, Barre, tom. ix.

valry

valry was broken, and their infantry cut in pieces. General Goeutz, and about three thouſand men, were left dead on the field; twenty-ſix pieces of cannon were taken, together with ſixty-three pair of colours, and four thouſand priſoners, among whom was general Haſfeld, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The purſuit was no leſs bloody than the battle. Twelve hundred of the imperial infantry were ſlain in one body, and a great number taken priſoners, together with three thouſand horſe [36]. A. D. 1645

STRUCK with terror by theſe repeated misfortunes, Ferdinand preſſed the elector of Bavaria to aſſiſt him with troops; and that prince ſent four thouſand men to Vienna, excuſing himſelf from furniſhing a greater number, as he was obliged to protect his own dominions againſt the inſults of the French, who threatened the Upper Palatinate. Galas, at the ſame time, collected the broken remains of the imperial army in Bohemia; ſet on foot new levies; and having formed a reſpectable body of troops, encamped under the cannon of Pilſen, in order to obſerve the motions of Torſtenſon; who, in conſequence of his late victory, had reduced Leipnitz, Pilgran, Iglaw, and ſeveral other places. The towns of Krembs, Stein, and the fort of Tyrnſtein alſo ſubmitted to the conqueror; ſo that the Swedes were now maſters of the Danube on the ſide of Moravia: and all the towns in that province ſurrendered at diſcretion, except Brinn, which Torſtenſon beſieged, as the reduction of it ſeemed neceſſary to facilitate his junction with Ragotſki, on which was ſuppoſed to depend the fate of Hungary and Auſtria.

THIS enterprize occaſioned ſuch alarm at the court of Vienna, that the emperor retired to Ratiſbon, and

36. Id. ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1645.

the empreſs and her attendants fled for refuge to Gratz in Stiria. All the moſt valuable furniture was removed from the capital, the ſuburbs were pulled down, and the baſtions and ramparts repaired. Some old regiments threw themſelves into the city; the inhabitants were armed; the magazines filled, and preparations made for ſupporting a long ſiege. Torſtenſon, however, had no thoughts of ſuch an enterprize. He found ſufficient employment at Brinn; which, by its gallant defence, afforded Ferdinand leiſure to put his affairs in ſome order. The archduke Leopold was declared commander in chief of the imperial forces; and Galas, who ſerved under him, in quality of lieutenant-general, aſſembled the militia from all quarters to attend the army, that he might be able to prevent the Swedes from croſſing the Danube. Nor was the elector of Bavaria leſs buſy in taking meaſures to oppoſe the progreſs of the French.

General Merci having received intelligence that mareſchal Turenne, after quitting his winter-quarters at Spire, had eſtabliſhed his head poſt at Mariendal, and that his troops were diſperſed in the neighbouring towns for the conveniency of ſubſiſtence, reſolved to attack him by ſurpriſe, in hopes of defeating him before he could aſſemble his forces. Extending himſelf, with this view, in the plain of Mariendal, Merci drew up his army in order of battle. He placed his foot in the centre, and his cavalry on the two wings. After cannonading the French for ſome time, he put himſelf at the head of his infantry, and marched to the attack of a ſmall wood that covered their front; a poſt which it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to poſſeſs, before his left wing, commanded by John de Wert, could act to advantage. Turenne at the ſame time, with his cavalry, charged the right wing of the Imperialiſts, which he broke, and penetrated as far as the ſecond line. But, during

during theſe efforts, three thouſand French troops, under the command of general Roſe, were routed and diſperſed by the Bavarians; and de Wert, perceiving their confuſion, advanced with his left wing, in order to take Turenne in the rear. Senſible of the riſk he ran of being ſurrounded, the mareſchal ordered his cavalry to wheel about, and retire acroſs the wood; at the other ſide of which being joined by three freſh regiments of foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, that had been already engaged, he ranged them in order of battle, with a view of attacking the enemy, ſhould they paſs the wood. Merci, however, did not think proper to try the experiment: ſo that the French general, having collected his broken troops, retired in the face of the enemy; croſſed the Maine in their deſpite, and reached the frontiers of Heſſe, where he found that he had loſt great part of his infantry, twelve hundred horſe, and his whole baggage [37].

LETTER LXXV.

A. D. 1645.

ELATED with this advantage, the elector of Bavaria made very lofty propoſals of peace to France; and Mazarine, without regarding them, ſent a reinforcement of eight thouſand men to Turenne, under the conduct of the duke d'Enguien. Theſe two commanders reſolved to bring the Bavarians to a general action. With this view Turenne, whoſe day it was to lead, advanced at the head of his cavalry, to engage the enemy. But they had taken poſt upon a riſing ground, ſo inacceſſible, that it ſeemed hazardous to attack them at ſuch diſadvantage. The duke d'Enguien being afterwards inveſted with the chief command, determined therefore to advance toward the Danube, and was proſecuting his march to Nordlingen, when he received intelligence that the Bavarians were come up with him. He imme-

37. Puffend. lib. xvi. Barre, tom. ix.

diately

PART I. A. D. 1645.

diately ranged his army in order of battle, upon the ſame plain where the Swedes had ſuffered a melancholy defeat ſoon after the death of Guſtavus; giving the command of the right wing to the mareſchal de Gramont, and that of the left to Turenne. Marſin, an officer of reputation, was placed at the head of the firſt line of infantry; the ſecond, compoſed chiefly of Heſſians, was commanded by major general Geiſs; and the Sieur de Chabot conducted the corps de reſerve.

THE Bavarians were drawn up on an eminence of eaſy aſcent. Their right wing, compoſed ſolely of infantry, was poſted upon the higher ground, and their main body entrenched below. Still lower lay a village, and on their left wing, commanded by John de Wert, ſtood a caſtle, which they had taken care to garriſon. The action was begun by the duke d'Enguien, who ordered Marſin to attack the village; but he being dangerouſly wounded, and the troops under his command giving way, the French general ſent in his room the marquis de Mouſſau, with a reinforcement. This body alſo was broken, and would have been utterly deſtroyed, had not the duke in perſon led on the whole French infantry to the aſſiſtance of the marquis. Nor could their utmoſt efforts turn the tide of battle, until the count de Merci was ſlain at the head of his conquering troops. Even after the death of that great captain, all the intrepidity of the duke d'Enguien, who diſplayed the moſt heroic valour, could not prevent the deſtruction of great part of the French infantry. And to increaſe the misfortunes of the future Condé, the left wing of the Bavarians fell with ſuch fury upon the French cavalry, that they were totally routed, and the mareſchal de Gramont made priſoner; while John de Wert, attacking the corps de reſerve, defeated Chabot, and penetrated as far as the baggage.

DURING

LETTER LXXV.

A. D. 1645.

DURING theſe diſaſters, Turenne aſſailed the right wing of the enemy; and having reached the top of the eminence in good order, a terrible conflict enſued, in which the firſt line of the Bavarians was broken; but general Gleen advancing with the ſecond, the French were ready to give way in their turn, when the duke d'Enguien came ſeaſonably to the ſupport of his left wing. He obliged the Bavarians to retire, and leave behind them their cannon, which were pointed againſt the part of their right wing drawn up near the village. Turenne now charged the enemy in flank, and drove them beyond the village, after having taken general Gleen priſoner. Meantime John de Wert, partly informed of what had paſſed upon the hill, haſtened thither with his victorious left wing; but he came too late to retrieve the honour of the day, every thing being already in confuſion. All that he could do therefore was, to lead off the remains of the Bavarian army to Donawert, whither they eſcaped under the cover of night, though purſued as far as the banks of the Danube [38].

THIS victory, if ſuch it may be called, was dearly purchaſed by the French, four thouſand of their beſt troops being left dead upon the ſpot. Nordlingen and ſome neighbouring places, indeed, opened their gates to the conquerors; but they were ſoon recovered by the Bavarians, who received a ſtrong reinforcement under the archduke Leopold. Turenne, however, after the departure of the duke d'Enguien, who went to Paris to receive the applauſe due to his valour, had the honour of cloſing the campaign with re-eſtabliſhing the elector of Triers in his dominions. That prince, after a captivity of ten years, had obtained his liberty, in conſe-

38. Barre, tom. ix. Heiſs, liv. iii. chap. x. Auberi, *Hiſt. du Card. Mazarine. Hiſt. du Prince de Condé.*

PART I. A.D. 1645.

quence of a ſecret treaty with Ferdinand, by which he ſubmitted to the articles of the peace of Prague, and other rigorous conditions. But as he ſigned this treaty with no other view than to deliver himſelf from a tedious and grievous impriſonment, he threw himſelf upon the protection of France, as ſoon as he was enlarged, and cardinal Mazarine ordered Turenne to effect his reſtoration. The mareſchal accordingly inveſted Triers: the garriſon was obliged to capitulate, and the elector entered his capital amidſt the acclamations of his ſubjects [39].

DURING theſe tranſactions, the elector of Saxony, finding himſelf unable to ſtop the progreſs of the Swedes under Koningſmark, who had reduced a number of towns in Thuringia and Miſnia, had recourſe to negociation, and concluded a truce with that general for ſix months, as a prelude to a peace with Sweden. This treaty was the more diſagreeable to the houſe of Auſtria, as it enabled Koningſmark, after laying Bohemia under contribution, to form a junction with Torſtenſon, who had carried his depredations to the very gates of Vienna, in ſpite of all the efforts of the archduke. The emperor, however, in ſome degree counterbalanced the defection of the elector of Saxony, by a peace with Ragotſki. He acknowledged that prince ſovereign of Tranſilvania, and reſtored to him certain poſſeſſions in Hungary, which had belonged to his predeceſſor, Bethlem Gabor [40].

TORSTENSON, after his junction with Koningſmark, propoſed to undertake the ſiege of Prague; but the archduke Leopold being joined by the count de Bouchain, took ſuch effectual meaſures for ſecuring that

39. Id. ibid.

40. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

city,

city, as rendered the attempt impracticable. Chagrined at this diſappointment, and greatly afflicted with the gout, Torſtenſon retired to his own country. He was ſucceeded in the chief command by general Wrangel, who ſupported the reputation of the Swediſh arms, and in conjunction with Turenne ravaged Franconia, Sileſia, and Moravia, laying the country every where under contribution. LETTER LXXV. A. D. 1646.

In order to ſecure his dominions againſt theſe ravages, the elector of Bavaria withdrew his troops from the ſervice of the emperor, and concluded a ſeparate peace with France. His example was followed by the archbiſhop of Cologne; and the archbiſhop of Mentz, and the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, were reduced to the neceſſity of taking the ſame ſtep by the victorious Turenne. He laid waſte their dominions, and ſtruck all Germany with the terror of his arms. Nor were the Swedes inactive. Having garriſoned the towns they poſſeſſed in Weſtphalia and Upper Suabia, they made themſelves maſters of Schweinfurt, which had cut off the communication between theſe two provinces, and again entering Bohemia, reduced Egra in preſence of the imperial army [41]. A. D. 1647.

The confederates were leſs ſucceſsful in other quarters. Nothing of conſequence had been effected either in Italy or the Low Countries, during the two laſt campaigns, and in Spain the reputation of two celebrated French generals had been tarniſhed. In 1646, the count d'Harcourt, viceroy of Catalonia, beſieged Lerida. The garriſon was not ſtrong, nor was the place

41. Barre, tom. ix. Heiſs, liv. iii. chap. x. *Hiſt. du Vie de Turenne.*

PART I. in a ſtate of defence. But Don Antonio de Brito, the governor, had the addreſs to make the French believe, that his condition was yet more deſperate than he found it; ſo that they did not preſs the ſiege ſo vigorouſly as they otherwiſe might, from a perſuaſion that he would ſurrender at diſcretion. Meanwhile the marquis de Legonez, the Spaniſh general, who knew exactly the ſtate of the garriſon, cauſed a great convoy to be provided. When it was near ready, he advanced towards Lerida, ſeemingly with an intention to relieve the place; but, after lying ſome days within ſight of the French army, he decamped, as if he had abandoned his deſign. Having forwarded the convoy, he marched directly back to the town; and appeared unexpectedly, in order of battle, on one ſide of the French lines; while, on the other, the convoy with a ſtrong reinforcement ſafely entered the place, during the hurry of the beſiegers to receive the enemy. Harcourt therefore found himſelf under the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege; a diſappointment which chagrined him ſo much, that he reſigned the command, and returned to France, where he was very coldly received by Mazarine [42].

A. D. 1647. THE prince of Condé, formerly duke d'Enguien, was now appointed viceroy of Catalonia, the Catalans, as already obſerved, having put themſelves under the protection of France. Elated with paſt ſucceſs, he reſolved to diſtinguiſh the beginning of his adminiſtration by the reduction of Lerida, in which his predeceſſor had failed. Fortunately he found the lines of the count d'Harcourt ſo little damaged, that they were eaſily repaired, and the trenches were opened with a flouriſh of violins. The conduct of Don

42. Quincy, *Hiſt. Milit. de Louis XIV.* *Mem. de Madame de Motteville.*

Antonio

LETTER LXXV.

Antonio de Brito, who was well ſupplied with every neceſſary, and had a garriſon of three thouſand men, was the very reverſe of what it had been the year before. He harraſſed the enemy with continual ſallies, and diſputed with obſtinacy every inch of ground. The French aſcribed this change of conduct to his being ſenſible that they had made the attack in the weakeſt place, and concluded that he would be obliged to ſurrender as ſoon as they had made themſelves maſters of the outworks; but in the midſt of theſe ſanguine expectations, peculiar to the French nation, the engineers found their progreſs obſtructed by a rock. It was impoſſible to proceed, it was too late to begin again; the troops were diminiſhed by fatigue, the heats were coming on. The Spaniſh army, under the marquis d'Aitona, advanced to the relief of the place, and the prince of Condé was obliged to raiſe the ſiege[43]. The reſt of the campaign was ſpent in fruitleſs marches and countermarches. A. D. 1647.

THE concluſion of the year 1647 was not more fortunate for the confederates in Germany. The elector of Bavaria was prevailed upon to renounce the alliance he had concluded with France, and re-unite himſelf to the emperor; and in conſequence of the union of the Bavarian and imperial forces, Wrangel was obliged to abandon Bohemia. After being harraſſed by the Auſtrian general Melander, in a long and difficult march, he took up his winter-quarters in the duchy of Brunſwick.

EARLY in the ſpring, however, the Swediſh general led out his army, with an intention to ſurpriſe the enemy in their cantonments; but they were appriſed of his deſign, and had aſſembled their troops. In order to A. D. 1648.

[43] Martiniere, *Hiſt. Gen. d'Eſpagne.* Quincy, ubi ſup.

atone

PART I. A.D. 1648.

atone for this failure, Wrangel advanced, in conjunction with Turenne, againſt the Auſtrians and Bavarians, at Zuſmarhauſen, or Zummerhauſen, near the Danube. There a furious battle was fought; and the Imperial forces were defeated, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of Montecuculi and Wittemberg. Theſe able generals were only able to ſave the remains of the army, by a maſterly retreat to Augſburg [44].

PICOLOMINI arriving ſoon after from the Netherlands, aſſumed the chief command of the Imperial forces in the room of Melander, who was ſlain. His preſence ſeemed to infuſe new ſpirit into the troops; but he could not prevent the confederates from paſſing the Lech, and penetrating into Bavaria, where they laid the whole country under contribution, and obliged the elector to quit his capital, and take refuge in Saltzburg.

NOR was the victory at Zummerhauſen the only advantage the confederates had gained ſince the opening of the campaign. The Heſſians had defeated the baron Lamboy near Grevemburg, in the duchy of Juliers; and Koningſmark had ſurpriſed the new city of Prague. In the mean time Charles Guſtavus, count Palatine of Deux Ponts, arriving from Sweden with a reinforcement of eight thouſand men, undertook the ſiege of Old Prague; and carried on his approaches with ſuch vigour, that the place muſt have been taken, had not the emperor, dreading the loſs of that capital, and of the whole kingdom of Bohemia, reſolved in earneſt to conclude the ſo long demanded peace [45].

44. Barre, tom. ix. *Hiſt. de Vie de Turenne.* Heiſs, liv. iii. chap. x.
45. Id. ibid.

HITHER-

LETTER LXXV.

A. D. 1648.

HITHERTO the negociations at Munſter and Oſnabrug had varied according to the viciſſitudes of the war; but the French and Swedes being now deciſively victorious, and having no other enemy in Germany but the emperor, all the reſt being either ſubdued or in alliance with them, it only remained for Ferdinand to receive law from thoſe powers. Other circumſtances conſpired to forward the treaty. Sweden, notwithſtanding the great ſucceſs of its arms, was exhauſted by its unremitted efforts, during eighteen years of hoſtilities; and the young queen, Chriſtina, ſo diſtinguiſhed by her love of learning, was deſirous of repoſe, that ſhe might have leiſure to purſue her favourite ſtudies. The United Provinces, become jealous of France, had concluded in 1647, a ſeparate treaty with Spain; in which their independency was not only acknowledged, but the republic was declared a free and ſovereign ſtate, by the only power that had diſputed it, at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, with an obſtinacy to which hiſtory affords no parallel, for the term of fourſcore years. France, therefore, was left to ſuſtain alone the whole weight of the war againſt the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria; and cardinal Mazarine, her prime miniſter, being at the ſame time threatened with an inteſtine war, became more moderate in his demands at the congreſs, as well as more ſincerely diſpoſed to promote the tranquillity of Germany [46].

IN conſequence of theſe favourable occurrences and correſponding views, the memorable PEACE of WESTPHALIA was ſigned at Munſter, on the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year 1648. As it is a fundamental law of the empire, and the baſis of all ſubſe-

46. Auberi, *Hiſt. du Card. Mazarine.* Puffendoff. Barre. Le Clerc.

PART I. A. D. 1648.

quent treaties, I muſt make you acquainted, my dear Philip, with the ſubſtance of the principal articles of it. In order to ſatisfy the different powers, the following important ſtipulations were found neceſſary; namely, That France ſhall poſſeſs the ſovereignty of the three archbiſhopricks, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the city of Pignerol, Briſac, and its dependencies, the territory of Suntgaw, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alſace, and the right to keep a garriſon in Philipſburg; that to Sweden ſhall be granted, beſides five millions of crowns, the archbiſhoprick of Bremen and the biſhoprick of Verden ſecularized, Upper Pomerania, Stetin, the iſle of Rugen, and the city of Wiſmar, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, all to be held as fiefs of the empire, with three votes at the diet; that the elector of Brandenburg ſhall be reimburſed for the loſs of Upper Pomerania, by the ceſſion of the biſhoprick of Magdeburg ſecularized, and by having the biſhopricks of Halberſtadt, Minden, and Camin, declared ſecular principalities, with four votes at the diet; that the duke of Mecklenburg, as an equivalent for Wiſmar, ſhall have the biſhopricks of Schwerin and Ratſburg, erected, in like manner, into ſecular principalities; that the electoral dignity, with the Upper Palatinate, ſhall remain with Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and his deſcendants, as long as they ſhall produce male iſſue; but that the Lower Palatinate ſhall be reſtored to Charles Lewis, ſon of the depoſed elector, in whoſe favour ſhall be eſtabliſhed an eighth electorate, to continue till the extinction of the houſe of Bavaria [47]. All the other princes and ſtates of the empire were re-eſtabliſhed in the lands, rights, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia, in 1619. The republic of Swit-

47. Du Mont. *Corps Diplomat.* tom. vi. Pfeffel, *Abbégé Chronol.*

zerland

zerland was declared to be a ſovereign ſtate, exempt from the juriſdiction of the empire; and the long diſputed ſucceſſion of Cleves and Juliers, with the reſtitution of Lorrain, was referred to arbitration [48]. LETTER LXXV. A.D. 1648.

THE ſtipulations in regard to religion were no leſs accurate and comprehenſive. The pacification of Paſſau was confirmed, in its full extent; and it was farther agreed, That the Calviniſts ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges as the Lutherans; that the Imperial chamber ſhall conſiſt of twenty-four Proteſtant members, and twenty-ſix Catholics; that the emperor ſhall receive ſix Proteſtants into his aulic council; and that an equal number of Catholic and Proteſtant deputies ſhall be choſen for the diet, except when it is convoked on a cauſe that concerns one of the two religions; in which caſe, all the deputies ſhall be Proteſtants, if it reſpects the Proteſtants; and Catholics, if it relates to the followers of the catholic faith [49].

THESE are the great outlines of the Peace of Weſtphalia, ſo eſſential to the tranquillity of Europe in general, and to that of Germany in particular. War however, between France and Spain, was continued with various ſucceſs, until the Treaty of the Pyrenees, negociated in 1659, when Lewis XIV. was married to the infanta Maria Thereſa, daughter of Philip IV. as I ſhall afterwards have occaſion more particularly to relate. In the mean time we muſt make a pauſe.

48. Id. ibid. 49. Du Mont, ubi ſup.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

From the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648, to the PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

LETTER I.

ENGLAND and IRELAND, from the Acceſſion of JAMES I. to the Murder of Sir THOMAS OVERBURY, and the Fall of SOMERSET.

LETTER I. A.D. 1603.

IN bringing down the general tranſactions of Europe to the peace of Weſtphalia, when a new epoch in Modern Hiſtory commences, I excuſed myſelf from carrying the affairs of England lower than the death of Elizabeth.

THIS arrangement, my dear Philip, was ſuggeſted by the nature of the ſubject. The acceſſion of the family of Stuart to the throne of England forms a memorable æra in the hiſtory of Great Britain. It gave birth to a ſtruggle, between the king and parliament, that repeatedly

PART II. A. D. 1603.

edly threw the whole iſland into convulſions, and which was never fully compoſed, till the final expulſion of the royal family. To make you acquainted with the riſe and progreſs of this important ſtruggle, while your mind is diſengaged from other objects, and before I again lead you into the great line of European politics, with which it had little connexion, ſhall now be my buſineſs. By entering upon it ſooner, I ſhould have disjointed the continental ſtory, have withdrawn your attention from matters of no leſs moment, and yet have been obliged to diſcontinue the ſubject, when it became moſt intereſting.

THE Engliſh throne being left vacant by the death of Elizabeth, who with her lateſt breath had declared, That ſhe wiſhed to be ſucceeded by her neareſt kinſman, the king of Scots, or who in her dying moments had made ſigns to that purpoſe, James was immediately proclaimed king of England by the lords of the privy council. He was great-grandſon of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. ſo that on the failure of the male line, his hereditary title remained unqueſtionable. The crown of England therefore paſſed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart, with as much tranquillity as ever it was tranſmitted from father to ſon. People of all ranks, forgetting their ancient hoſtilities with Scotland, and their averſion againſt the dominion of ſtrangers, teſtified their ſatisfaction with louder acclamations than were uſual at the acceſſion even of their native princes. They foreſaw greater advantages, reſulting from a perpetual alliance with Scotland, than inconveniencies from ſubmitting to a ſovereign of that kingdom. And by this junction of its whole collective force, Great Britain has riſen to a degree of power and conſequence in Europe, which Scotland and England, deſtined by their poſition to form one vigorous monarchy, could

could never have attained, as ſeparate and hoſtile kingdoms. LETTER XV. A. D. 1603.

DAZZLED with the glory of giving a maſter to their rich and powerful rivals, and relying on the partiality of their native prince, the Scots expreſſed no leſs joy than the Engliſh, at this increaſe of their ſovereign's dignity; and as his preſence was neceſſary in England, where the people were impatient to ſee their new king, James inſtantly prepared to leave Edinburgh, and ſet out for London without delay. In his journey, crowds of his Engliſh ſubjects every where aſſembled to welcome him: great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the ſalutations that reſounded from all ſides. But James, who wanted that engaging affability by which Elizabeth had captivated the hearts of her people; and who, although ſocial and familiar among his friends and courtiers, could not bear the fatigue of rendering himſelf agreeable to a mixed multitude; James, who, though far from diſliking flattery, was ſtill fonder of eaſe, unwiſely iſſued a proclamation forbidding ſuch tumultuous reſort [1]. A diſadvantageous compariſon between his deportment and that of his illuſtrious predeceſſor was the conſequence; and if Elizabeth's frugality in conferring honours had formerly been repined at, it was now juſtly eſteemed, in conſequence of that undiſtinguiſhing profuſion with which James beſtowed them [2].

THE king's liberality, however, in diſpenſing theſe honours, it may be preſumed, would have excited leſs cen-

1. Kennet.

2. Within ſix weeks after his entrance into England, he is ſaid to have beſtowed knighthood on two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons, many of whom were utterly unworthy of ſuch honour.

PART II. A. D. 1603.

ſure in England, had they not been ſhared out, with other advantages, in too unequal proportions to his Scottiſh courtiers, a numerous train of whom accompanied him to London. Yet it muſt be owned, in juſtice to James, whoſe misfortune it was, through his whole reign, to be more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, that he left all the great offices of ſtate in the hands of Elizabeth's miniſters, and truſted the conduct of public affairs, both foreign and domeſtic, for a time, to his Engliſh ſubjects. Among theſe ſecretary Cecil, with whom he had held a private correſpondence during the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, and who had ſmoothed his way to the throne, was regarded as his prime miniſter, and chief counſellor. As this correſpondence had been carried on with the moſt profound ſecrecy, Cecil's favour with the king created general ſurprize; it being well known to the nation, that his father, lord treaſurer Burleigh, had been the principal cauſe of the tragical death of the queen of Scots, and that he himſelf had haſtened the fate of Eſſex, the warm friend of the family of Stuart. But the ſecretary's ſervices had obliterated his crimes; and James was not ſo devoid of prudence or of gratitude, as to ſlight the talents of a man, who was able to give ſtability to that throne which he had helped him to aſcend, nor ſo vindictive as to perſecute him from reſentment of a father's offences. On the contrary, he loaded him with honours; creating him ſucceſſively lord Eſſingdon, viſcount Cranbourn, and earl of Saliſbury. The earl of Southampton and the young earl of Eſſex were reſtored to their titles; while Sir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, and lord Cobham, Cecil's former aſſociates, were diſmiſſed from their employments[3]. This diſgrace, however, was not ſo

3. Kennet, p. 663.

much

much occaſioned by their hoſtile conduct, and violent oppoſition againſt the king's family during the life of Elizabeth, as by an ineffectual attempt which they had made, after her death, to preſcribe certain conditions to the declared ſucceſſor, whom they found they wanted power to ſet aſide, before he ſhould aſcend the throne [4]. LETTER A.D. 1603.

JAMES and his new miniſters had ſoon an opportunity of exerciſing their political ſagacity. Ambaſſadors arrived from almoſt all the princes and ſtates in Europe, in order to congratulate him on his acceſſion to the crown of England, and to form new treaties and alliances with him, as the head of the two Britiſh kingdoms. Among others, Henry Frederick of Naſſau, aſſiſted by Barnevelt, the Penſionary of Holland, repreſented the United Provinces. But the envoy who moſt excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his maſter, was the marquis de Roſni, afterwards duke of Sully, prime miniſter and favourite of Henry IV. of France. He propoſed, in his maſter's name, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the Northern crowns, in order to reſtrain the ambition, and to depreſs the exorbitant power of the houſe of Auſtria [5]. But whether the genius of the Britiſh king, naturally timid and pacific, was inadequate to ſuch vaſt undertakings, or ſo penetrating as to diſcover, that the French monarchy, now united in domeſtic concord, and governed by an able and active prince, was become of itſelf a ſufficient counterpoiſe to the Auſtrian greatneſs, he declined taking any part in the projected league; ſo that Roſni, obliged to contract his views, could only concert with him the means of providing for the ſafety

4. Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii. 5. *Mem. de Sulli.*

PART II. A.D. 1603.

of the United Provinces. Nor was this an eaſy matter; for James, before his acceſſion to the throne of England, had entertained many ſcruples in regard to the revolt in the Low Countries, and had even gone ſo far, on ſome occaſions, as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels[6]. He was induced, however, after converſing freely with his Engliſh miniſters and courtiers, to ſacrifice to politics his ſenſe of juſtice. He found the attachment of his new ſubjects ſo ſtrong to that republic, and their opinion of a common intereſt ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as to make his concurrence neceſſary: he therefore agreed with Roſni to ſupport ſecretly the States General, in conjunction with France, leſt their weakneſs and deſpair ſhould bring them again under the enormous dominion of Spain[7].

WHILE James was taking theſe ſalutary ſteps for ſecuring tranquillity, both foreign and domeſtic, a conſpiracy was hatching to ſubvert the government, and to place on the throne of England Arabella Stuart, the king's couſin-german, equally deſcended with him from Henry VII. Watſon and Clarke, two catholic prieſts, were accuſed of hatching the plot, and executed for their ſhare in it. But the chief conſpirators were lord Cobham and his brother Mr. Broke, lord Grey, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other diſcarded courtiers. Theſe daring and ambitious ſpirits meeting frequently together, and believing the whole nation as diſſatisfied as themſelves, had entertained very criminal projects; and ſome of them, as appeared on their trial, had even entered into a correſpondence with Aremberg, the Flemiſh ambaſſador, in order to diſturb the new ſettlement of the crown[8]. Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were

6. Winwood, vol. ii. 7. *Mem. de Sulli.* 8. *State Trials*, vol. i.

par-

pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block; Broke was executed, and Raleigh reprieved [9]. He remained, however, in confinement many years. LETTER A. D. 1604.

SOON after ſurmounting this danger, the king was engaged in a ſcene of buſineſs more ſuitable to his temper, and in which he was highly ambitious to make a figure. Of all the qualities that mark the character of James, he was by none ſo much diſtinguiſhed as by the pedantic vanity of being thought to excel in ſchool-learning [10]. This vanity was much heightened by the flattery which he met with from his Engliſh courtiers, but eſpecially thoſe of the eccleſiaſtical order; and he was eager for an opportunity of diſplaying his theological talents, of all others moſt admired in that age, to the whole body of his new ſubjects. Such an opportunity was now offered him, by a petition from the Puritans, for reforming certain tenets of the eſtabliſhed church. Under pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile the parties, the king called a conference at Hampton-court, A. D. 1604. and gave the petitioners hopes of an impartial debate; though nothing appears to have been farther from his purpoſe. This matter will require ſome illuſtration.

9. Winwood, vol. ii.

10. James's pedantry, which led him to diſplay his learning upon all occaſions, only could have drawn upon him contempt as a ſcholar; for his book entitled *Baſilicon Doron*, which contains certain precepts relative to the art of government, addreſſed to his ſon prince Henry, muſt be allowed, notwithſtanding the ſubſequent alterations and refinements in national taſte, not only to be no contemptible performance, but to be equal to the works of moſt contemporary authors, both in purity of ſtyle and juſtneſs of compoſition. If he wrote concerning witches and apparitions; who in that age, as the ſagacious Hume obſerves, did not admit the reality of theſe fictitious beings?—If he has compoſed a commentary on the Revelations, and proved the pope to be Antichriſt; may not a ſimilar reproach be extended to the famous Napier?—and even to the great Newton? who lived at a time when learning and philoſophy were more advanced, than during the reign of James I.

THE

THE Puritans, whom I have formerly had occaſion to mention [11], formed a ſect which ſecretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any ſeparate worſhip or diſcipline. They frequented no diſſenting congregations, becauſe there were none ſuch in the kingdom; uniformity in religion being, in that age, thought abſolutely neceſſary to the ſupport of government, if not to the very exiſtence of civil ſociety, by men of all ranks and characters. But they maintained, that they themſelves were the only pure church; that their principles and practices ought to be eſtabliſhed by law, and that none elſe deſerved to be tolerated. In conſequence of this way of thinking, the puritanical clergy frequently refuſed to comply with the legal ceremonies, and were deprived of their livings, if not otherwiſe puniſhed, during the reign of Elizabeth; yet ſo little influence had theſe ſeverities upon the party, that no leſs than ſeven hundred and fifty clergymen ſigned the petition to the king for the farther reformation of the church [12].

As James had been educated in the religion of the church of Scotland, which was nearly the ſame with that which the Puritans wanted to eſtabliſh in England; and as he had written, at a very early period of life, a commentary on the Revelations; in which he had proved the pope to be Antichriſt, and modern Rome the Whore of Babylon in Scripture, theſe enthuſiaſtic zealots hoped to ſee the ſanctuary thoroughly purified, and every remaining rag of the whore torn away. The impurities of which they chiefly complained were the epiſcopal veſtments, and certain harmleſs ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding uſe, which the moderation of the church of England had retained at the Reformation; ſuch as the uſe of the ring in mar-

11. Part I. Lett. lxii. 12. Fuller, book x.

riage,

riage, the croſs in baptiſm, and the reverence of bowing at the name of Jeſus. If the king ſhould not utterly aboliſh theſe abominations, they flattered themſelves, that he would at leaſt abate the rigour of the laws againſt nonconformity. LETTER I. A.D. 1604.

BUT although James, in youth, had ſtrongly imbibed the Calviniſtical doctrines, his mind had now taken a contrary bias. The more he knew the puritanical clergy, the leſs favour he bore them. He had remarked in their Scottiſh brethren a violent turn towards republican maxims; and he had found, that the ſame lofty pretenſions, which dictated their familiar addreſſes to their Maker, induced them to take ſtill greater freedoms with their earthly ſovereign. They had diſputed his tenets, and counteracted his commands. Such liberties could hardly have recommended them to any prince, and made them peculiarly obnoxious to James, whoſe head was filled with lofty notions of kingſhip and high prerogative, as well as of his theological pre-eminence and eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy. Beſides, he dreaded the popularity which the Puritans had acquired in both kingdoms; and being much inclined himſelf to mirth, and wine, and ſports of all kinds, he apprehended the cenſure of their auſterity, on account of his free and diſengaged manner of life. Thus averſe, from temper as well as policy, againſt this rigorous ſect, James was determined to prevent, as far as poſſible, its farther growth in England; and even to introduce, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, the Engliſh liturgy into Scotland, in order to ſoften the manners of the people.

A JUDGE ſo prejudiced could not poſſibly be juſt. The Puritans accordingly complained, and with reaſon, of

PART II. A. D. 1624.

of the unfair management of the diſpute at the conference. From arbiter, the king turned principal diſputant, and frequently repeated the epiſcopal maxim: "No Biſhop, no King!" The biſhops and other courtiers, in their turn, were very liberal in their applauſe of the royal theologian. "I have often heard that the royalty and prieſthood were united," ſaid Chancellor Egerton, "but never ſaw it verified till now." And Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury, exclaimed, that "he verily believed the king ſpoke by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God's ſpirit [13]!" Little wonder, after ſo much flattery from the church and its adherents, that the Puritans were enjoined by the king to conform. They obtained, however, a few alterations in the liturgy; and they pleaded hard for the revival of certain aſſemblies, which they called *propheſyings*, and which had been ſuppreſſed by Elizabeth, as dangerous to the ſtate. This demand rouſed all James's choler; and he delivered himſelf in a ſpeech, which diſtinctly ſhews the political conſiderations that determined him in his choice of religious parties. "If you aim at a Scottiſh "preſbytery," replied he, "it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. There Jack, and "Tom, and Will, and Dick, ſhall meet and cenſure "me and my council: therefore I reiterate my former "ſpeech; *le Roi s'aviſera.* Stay, I pray, for one ſeven "years before you demand; and then, if you find me "grow purſie and fat, I may perchance hearken unto "you; for that government will keep me in wind, and "give me work enough [14]."

THE aſſembly in which the king next diſplayed his learning and eloquence, was of a very different complexion. The meeting of the great council of the na-

13. Kennet, p. 665. 14. Fuller's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

tion

tion had hitherto been delayed from a dread of the plague, which had lately broke out in London, and there raged to ſuch a degree, that above thirty thouſand perſons are ſuppoſed to have died of it, although the city and ſuburbs did not then contain two hundred thouſand inhabitants. At length, however, the plague ſubſided, and the parliament was convened. The ſpeech which James made on that occaſion fully diſplays his character. Though by no means deficient either in ſtyle or matter, it wants that majeſtic brevity and reſerve, which becomes a king in addreſſing his ſubjects from the throne. "Shall I "ever," ſaid he, "nay can I ever be able, or rather ſo "unable, in memory, as to forget your unexpected "readineſs and alacrity—your ever memorable reſolu- "tion, and the moſt wonderful conjunction and har- "mony of your hearts, in declaring and embracing me "as your undoubted and lawful king and governour? "or ſhall it ever be blotted out of my mind, how at my "firſt entrance into this kingdom, the people of all ſorts "rid and ran, nay rather flew to meet me? their eyes "flaming nothing but ſparkles of affection, their mouths "and tongues uttering nothing but ſounds of joy; their "hands, feet, and all the reſt of their members, in their "geſtures diſcovering a paſſionate longing to meet their "new ſovereign!" He next expatiated on the manifold bleſſings which the Engliſh had received in his perſon; and concluded with obſerving, that the meaſure of their happineſs would be full, if England and Scotland were united in one kingdom. "I am the huſband," added he, "and the whole iſland is my lawful wife; "and I hope no one will be ſo unreaſonable as to think, "that a Chriſtian king under the goſpel, can be a poly- "gamiſt, and the huſband of two wives [15]."

LETTER I. A. D. 1604. March 19.

15. *King James's Works.*

PART I.

THE following words, in a letter from James to the parliament, on the ſame ſubject, is more to the purpoſe: "It is in you now," ſays he, "to make the choice—"to procure proſperity and increaſe of greatneſs to me "and mine, you and yours; and by the away-taking of "that partition wall, which already, by God's provi-"dence, in my blood is rent aſunder, to eſtabliſh my "throne and your body politic in a perpetual and flouriſh-"ing peace." This was indeed an important and deſirable object, and ſo much was James's heart ſet upon effectually removing all diviſion between the two kingdoms, and ſo ſure did he think himſelf of accompliſhing his aim, that he aſſumed the title of king of Great Britain; quartered St. Andrew's croſs with St George's; and, in order to give a general idea of the peaceful advantages of ſuch an union, the iron doors of the frontier towns were converted into plough-ſhares [16]. But the minds of men were not yet ripe for that ſalutary meaſure. The remembrance of former hoſtilities was too recent to admit of a cordial friendſhip: the animoſity between the two nations could only be allayed by time. The complaiſance of the parliament to the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four Engliſh, to meet with thirty-one Scottiſh commiſſioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of an union, without any power of making advances towards its final eſtabliſhment [17].

THE commons diſcovered more judgment of national intereſt, in ſome other points in which they oppoſed the crown; and fully ſhewed, that a bold ſpirit of freedom, if not a liberal manner of thinking, was become general among them. It had been uſual during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as in more early periods of the Eng-

16. Rapin, *Hiſt. Eng.* June, 7, 1604

17. *Journals of the Houſe of Commons,*

liſh

LETTER

A.D. 1604.

liſh government, for the chancellor to exert a diſcretionary authority, of iſſuing new writs for ſupplying the places of ſuch members as he judged incapable of attending on account of their ill ſtate of health, or any other impediment [18]. This dangerous prerogative James ventured to exerciſe in the caſe of Sir Francis Goodwin. The chancellor declared his ſeat vacated, and iſſued a writ for a new election. But the commons, whoſe eyes were now opened, ſaw the pernicious conſequences of ſuch a power, and aſſerted their right of judging ſolely in their own elections and returns. "By this courſe," ſaid a member, "a chancellor may call a parliament conſiſting of what perſons he pleaſes. Any ſuggeſtion, by "any perſon, may be the cauſe of ſending a new writ. "It is come to this plain queſtion, whether the chancery "or the parliament ought to have authority [19]?" The king was obliged to yield the point; and that right, ſo eſſential to public liberty, has ever ſince been regarded as a privilege inherent in the houſe of commons, though at that time rendered doubtful through the negligence of former parliaments.

NOR did the ſpirit and judgment of the commons appear only in their vigorous exertions in defence of their own privileges: they extended their attention to the commercial part of the nation, and endeavoured, though at that time in vain, to free trade from thoſe ſhackles which the ill-judged policy of Elizabeth had impoſed upon it [20]. James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled the numerous patents for monopolies, which had been granted by that princeſs, and which fettered every ſpecies of domeſtic induſtry; but the excluſive companies ſtill remained, another ſpecies

18. *Journ.* January 19, and March 18, 1580.
19. *Journ.* March 30, 1604. 20. *Journ.* May 21, 1604.

PART I. A.D. 1604. of monopolies, by which almoſt all foreign trade was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engroſſers, and all proſpect of future improvement in commerce ſacrificed to a temporary advantage to the crown. The commons alſo attempted to free the landed intereſt from the burden of wardſhips, and the body of the people from the oppreſſion of purveyance[21]. It will therefore be proper here to give ſome account of theſe grievous remains of the feudal government.

THE right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown, could, at pleaſure, take proviſions for the king's houſhold, whitherſoever he travelled, from all the neighbouring counties, and make uſe of the horſes and carriages of the farmers. The price of theſe proviſions and ſervices was fixed and ſtated; but the payment of the money was often diſtant and uncertain, and the rates were always much inferior to the uſual market price: ſo that purveyance, beſides the ſlavery of it, was always regarded as a heavy burden, and being arbitrary and caſual, was liable to great abuſes. Elizabeth made uſe of it to victual her navy during the firſt years of her reign[22]. Wardſhip, though the moſt regular and legal of all impoſitions by prerogative, was alſo an humiliating badge of ſlavery, and oppreſſive to all the conſiderable families among the nobility and gentry. When an eſtate devolved to a female, the king could oblige her to marry whom he pleaſed; and whether the heir was male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profits of the eſtate during the minority[23]. Theſe impoſitions had been often complained of; and the commons now propoſed to compound with the king for them, by a ſecure and independent revenue. The

21. *Journ.* April 30, and June 1, 1604.
22. Hume. Camden. 23. Hume, *Hiſt. Eng.* vol. v.

benefit which the crown reaped from wardſhip and purveyance was accordingly eſtimated; but after ſome debates in the lower houſe, and a conference with the lords on the ſubject, it was found to contain more difficulties than could at that time be eaſily ſurmounted; and therefore no farther progreſs was made in the buſineſs. LETTER I. A. D. 1604.

Soon after the riſing of parliament, a treaty of peace, which had been ſome time in agitation, was finally concluded with Spain. And although the war between Philip II. and Elizabeth appears to have been continued from perſonal animoſity rather than any contrariety of political intereſts between their ſubjects, this treaty was generally diſliked by the Engliſh nation; as it checked the ſpirit of enterprize, ſo prevalent in that age, and contained ſome articles which ſeemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth. But theſe articles, ſo far at leaſt as they regarded ſupplies, were never executed by James; who had, by a ſecret article, as I have formerly had occaſion to obſerve, expreſsly reſerved the power of ſending aſſiſtance to the United Provinces [24]. Aug. 18.

During this ſeaſon of peace and tranquillity, was brought to light one of the moſt diabolical plots of which there is any record in the hiſtory of mankind. The conſpiracy to which I allude is the GUNPOWDER TREASON. A ſcheme ſo infernally dark will require ſome elucidation. A. D. 1605

The Roman Catholics in general were much diſappointed, and even exaſperated, by the king's conduct in religious matters. He was not only the ſon of the unfortunate Mary, whoſe life they believed to have

24. Part I. Letter lxxi.

PART I. A. D. 1605. been ſacrificed to their cauſe; but, in order to quiet oppoſition, and make his acceſſion to the throne of England more eaſy, he had given them hopes that he would tolerate their religion. They therefore expected great favour and indulgence under his government. But they ſoon diſcovered their miſtake; and, equally ſurpriſed and enraged, when they found James had reſolved to execute the rigorous laws enacted againſt them, they determined on vengeance. Some of the moſt zealous of the party, under the direction of Garnet the ſuperior of the Jeſuits in England, conſpired to exterminate, at one blow, the moſt powerful of their enemies in this kingdom; and, in conſequence of that blow, to reeſtabliſh the catholic faith. Their conſpiracy had for its object the deſtruction of the king and parliament. For this purpoſe, they lodged thirty-ſix barrels of gunpowder in a vault beneath the Houſe of Lords, uſually let as a coal-cellar, and which had been hired by Percy, a near relation of the family of Northumberland, and one of the original conſpirators. The time fixed for the execution of the plot was the fifth of November, the day appointed for the meeting of the parliament; when the king, queen, and prince of Wales were expected to be in the houſe, together with the principal nobility and gentry. The reſt of the royal family were to be ſeized, and all diſpatched, except the princeſs Elizabeth, James's youngeſt daughter, yet an infant, who was to be raiſed to the throne, under the care of a catholic protector [25].

THE deſtined day at length drew nigh, and the conſpirators were filled with the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of ſucceſs. Nor without reaſon; for although the horrid ſecret had been communicated to above twenty perſons, no remorſe, no pity, no fear of puniſhment, no hope

25. *Hiſt. of the Gunpowder Treaſon.* See alſo *State Trials*, vol. i.

of

of reward, had induced any one accomplice, after more than twelve months, either to abandon the conſpiracy, or to make a diſcovery of it. But the holy fury by which they were actuated, though it had extinguiſhed in their breaſts every generous ſentiment, and every ſelfiſh motive, yet left them ſuſceptible to thoſe bigotted partialities, by which it was inſpired, and which fortunately ſaved the nation. A ſhort time before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic nobleman, whoſe father, lord Morley, had been a great ſufferer during the reign of Elizabeth, on account of his attachment to popery, received the following letter: LETTER II. A. D. 1605

"My Lord, out of the love I bear to ſome of your "friends, I have a care of your preſervation: therefore "I would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe "ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this parlia- "ment; for God and man have reſolved to puniſh the "wickedneſs of this time. And think not ſlightly of "this advertiſement; but retire yourſelf into your coun- "try, where you may expect the event in ſafety: for, "though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay "they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and "yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel "is not to be contemned; becauſe it may do you good, "and can do you no harm, for the danger is paſt as "ſoon as you have burned the letter: and I hope God "will give you the grace to make good uſe of it, to "whoſe holy protection I commend you [26]."

THOUGH Monteagle was inclined to think this a fooliſh attempt to expoſe him to ridicule, by frightening him from attending his duty in parliament, he judged it ſafeſt to carry the letter to lord Saliſbury, ſecretary

26. *King James's Works*, p. 227.

PART II. A. D. 1605.

of ſtate. Saliſbury either did, or pretended to think it a light matter; ſo that all farther inquiry was dropt, till the king, who had been for ſome time at Royſton, returned to town. To the timid ſagacity of James, the matter appeared in a more important point of view. From the ſerious and earneſt ſtyle of the letter, he conjectured, that it intimated ſome dark and dangerous deſign againſt the ſtate; and many particular expreſſions in it, ſuch as *great, ſudden*, and *terrible blow*, yet the *authors concealed*, ſeemed to denote ſome contrivance by gunpowder. It was therefore thought proper to inſpect all the vaults below the two houſes of parliament. This inſpection, however, was purpoſely delayed till the day before the meeting of the great council of the nation; when, on ſearching the vaults beneath the Houſe of Lords, the gunpowder was diſcovered, though concealed under great piles of wood and faggots; and Guido Fawkes, an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, who ſtood in a dark corner, and paſſed himſelf for Percy's ſervant, was ſeized and carried to the Tower.

THIS man had been ſent for from Flanders, on account of his determined courage, and known zeal in the catholic cauſe. He was accordingly entruſted with the moſt trying part in the enterprize. The matches, and every thing proper for ſetting fire to the train, were found in his pocket. He at firſt behaved with great inſolence and obſtinacy; not only refuſing to diſcover his accomplices, but expreſſing the utmoſt regret, that he had loſt the precious opportunity of at leaſt ſweetening his death, by taking vengeance on his and God's enemies [27]. But after ſome days confinement and ſolitude, his courage failed him on being ſhewn the rack, and he made a full diſcovery of all the conſpirators. Several

27. Winwood, vol. ii,

of

of them were men of ancient family, independent for- LETTER II.
tune, and unſpotted character; inſtigated alone to ſo great a crime by fanatical zeal, which led them to believe that they were ſerving their Maker, while they were contriving the ruin of their country, and the deſtruction of their ſpecies. A.D. 1605.

SUCH of the conſpirators as were in London, on hearing that Fawkes was arreſted, hurried down to Warwickſhire; where Sir Everard Digby, one of their aſſociates, was already in arms, in order to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth, who was then at lord Harrington's in that county. They failed in their attempt to get hold of the princeſs: the country roſe upon them; and they were all taken and executed except three, who fell a ſacrifice to their deſperate valour; namely, Wright, a daring fanatic, Cateſby, the original conſpirator, and Percy his firſt and moſt active aſſociate [78].

AFTER eſcaping this danger, James ſeems to have enjoyed a kind of temporary popularity, even among his Engliſh ſubjects. If the Puritans were offended at his lenity toward the Catholics, againſt whom he exerciſed no new ſeverities, the more moderate and intelligent part of the nation conſidered that lenity as truly magnanimous; and all men were become ſenſible, that the king could not poſſibly be the patron of a religion which had aimed ſo tremendous a blow at his life and throne. His love of peace was favourable to commerce, which flouriſhed under his reign; and it procured him leiſure, notwithſtanding his natural indolence of temper, to attend to the diſordered ſtate of Ireland.

28. K. James, p. 231. Winwood, vol. ii. *State Trials*, vol. i.

PART II. ELIZABETH had lived to ſee the final ſubjection of that iſland. But a difficult taſk ſtill remained; to civilize the barbarous inhabitants; to reconcile them to laws and induſtry; and, by theſe means, to render the conqueſt durable, and uſeful to the crown of England. The firſt ſtep that James took in regard to this important buſineſs, which he conſidered as his maſter-piece in
A. D. 1612. politics, was to aboliſh the Iriſh cuſtoms that ſupplied the place of laws; and which were calculated, as will appear by a few examples, to keep the people for ever in a ſtate of barbariſm and diſorder. Their chieftains, whoſe authority was abſolute, were not hereditary but elective; or, more properly ſpeaking, were eſtabliſhed by force and violence; and, although certain lands were aſſigned to the office, its chief profit aroſe from exactions, dues, aſſeſſments, which were levied at pleaſure, and for which there was no fixed law [29].

IN conſequence of the Brehon law or cuſtom, every crime, how enormous ſoever, was puniſhed in Ireland, not with death, but by a fine, or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Even murder itſelf, as among our Saxon anceſtors, was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had affixed to him a certain rate or value, which if any one was willing to pay, he need not fear aſſaſſinating whatever man he diſliked. This rate was called his *Eric*. Accordingly when Sir William Fitzwilliams, while lord deputy, told the chieftain Maguire, that he was to ſend a ſheriff into Fermannagh, which had been made a county a little before, and ſubjected to the Engliſh laws; "Your ſheriff," replied Maguire, "ſhall be "welcome to me: but let me know before-hand, his "*eric*, or the price of his head, that, if any of my peo-"ple ſhould cut it off, I may levy the money upon the "county [30]."

[29] Sir John Davis, p. 167. [30] Id. ibid.

AFTER

LETTER II.

A. D. 1612.

AFTER aboliſhing theſe, and other pernicious Iriſh cuſtoms, and ſubſtituting Engliſh laws in their ſtead, James proceeded to govern the natives by a regular adminiſtration, military as well as civil. A ſufficient army was maintained, its diſcipline inſpected, and its pay punctually tranſmitted from England, in order to prevent the ſoldiers from ſubſiſting upon the country, as had been uſual in former reigns. Circuits were eſtabliſhed, juſtice adminiſtered, oppreſſion baniſhed, and crimes and diſorders of every kind ſeverely puniſhed. For the relief of the common people, the value of the dues which the nobles uſually claimed from their vaſſals, was eſtimated at a fixed ſum, and all farther arbitrary exactions prohibited under ſevere penalties [31].

THE beneficial effects of theſe regulations were ſoon viſible, eſpecially in the province of Ulſter; which having wholly fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was eſtabliſhed in London for planting colonies in that fertile territory. The property was divided into moderate ſhares, the largeſt not exceeding two thouſand acres; tenants were brought from England and Scotland; the Iriſh were removed from the hills and faſtneſſes, and ſettled in the open country; huſbandry and the mechanical arts were taught them; a fixed habitation was ſecured for them, and every irregularity repreſſed. By theſe means Ulſter, from being the moſt wild and diſorderly province in Ireland, ſoon became the moſt civilized and beſt cultivated part of the iſland [32].

BUT whatever domeſtic advantages might reſult from James's pacific diſpoſition, it gradually loſt him the affections of his people, as it made him avoid war by ne-

31. Sir John Davis, p. 278. 32. Ibid. p. 280.

gocia-

PART II. A. D. 1612.

gociations and conceſſions beneath the dignity of an Engliſh monarch. It ſunk the national conſequence, and perhaps the national ſpirit; and his exceſſive love of carouſals and hunting, of public ſpectacles and unavailing ſpeculations, which left him no time for public buſineſs, at laſt diveſted his political character of all claim to reſpect, and rendered him equally contemptible at home and abroad. This contempt was increaſed by a diſadvantageous compariſon between the king and the prince of Wales.

THOUGH youth and royal birth, embelliſhed by the flattering rays of hope, prepoſſeſs men ſtrongly in favour of an heir apparent to the crown, Henry, James's eldeſt ſon, independent of ſuch circumſtances, ſeems to have poſſeſſed great and real merit. Although he had now almoſt reached his eighteenth year, neither the illuſions of paſſion nor of rank had ever ſeduced him into any irregular pleaſures: buſineſs and ambition alone engaged his heart, and occupied his mind. Had he lived to come to the throne, he might probably have promoted the glory more than the happineſs of his people, his diſpoſition being ſtrongly turned to war. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance. When the French ambaſſador took leave of him, and aſked his commands for France, he found him employed in the exerciſe of the pike: "Tell your king," ſaid Henry, "in what occupation you left me engaged [33]." His death, which was ſudden, diffuſed, throughout the nation, the deepeſt ſorrow, and violent reports were propagated that he had been taken off by poiſon. The phyſicians, however, on opening his body, found no ſymptoms to juſtify ſuch an opinion [34].

33. *Dep. de la Boderie.* 34. Kennet. Coke. Welwood.

BUT

LETTER II.

A.D. 1612.

BUT James had one weakneſs, which drew on him more odium than either his pedantry, puſillanimity, or extravagant love of amuſement; namely, an infatuated attachment to young and worthleſs favourites. This paſſion appears ſo much the more ludicrous, though leſs deteſtable, that it does not ſeem to have contained any thing criminal in it [35].

THE firſt and moſt odious of theſe favourites, was Robert Carr, a young gentleman of a good family in Scotland. When about twenty years of age, he arrived in London, after having paſſed ſome time in his travels. A handſome perſon, an eaſy manner, and a graceful air, were his chief accompliſhments; and theſe were ſufficient to recommend him to James, who, through his whole life, was too liable to be captivated with exterior qualities. Lord Hay, a Scottiſh nobleman, who was well acquainted with this weakneſs in his ſovereign, and meant to take advantage of it, aſſigned to Carr, at a tournament, the office of preſenting the king his buckler and device. But, as the future favourite was advancing for that purpoſe, his ungovernable horſe threw him, and his leg was broke by the fall.

EQUALLY ſtruck with this incident, and with the beauty and ſimplicity of the youth, whom he had never ſeen before, James approached him with ſentiments of the ſofteſt compaſſion; ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and to be attended by the moſt ſkilful ſurgeons:

35. The intereſt which James took in the amours of his favourites, and his attention to the cultivation of their minds, ought to exempt him from all ſuſpicion of an unnatural crime, notwithſtanding the influence which perſonal beauty ſeems to have had in the choice of them. He appears to have been deſirous of a miniſter of his own forming, who would be entirely ſubſervient to his will, as being his creature in a double ſenſe, and who might alſo prove an eaſy and diſengaged companion for his mirthful hours.

and

PART II. A.D. 1612.

and he himſelf paid him frequent viſits during his confinement. The more ignorant he found him, the ſtronger his attachment became. Highly conceited of his own wiſdom, he flattered himſelf, that he ſhould be able to form a miniſter whoſe political ſagacity would aſtoniſh the world, while he ſurpaſſed all his former courtiers in perſonal and literary accompliſhments. In conſequence of this partial fondneſs, interwoven with ſelfiſh vanity, the king ſoon knighted his favourite; created him viſcount Rocheſter, honoured him with the Garter, brought him into the privy council, and without aſſigning him any particular office, gave him the ſupreme direction of his affairs [36].

THE minion, however, was not ſo much elated by his ſudden elevation, as not to be ſenſible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourſe to the advice of a friend, and found a judicious and ſincere counſellor in Sir Thomas Overbury; by whoſe means he enjoyed for a time, what is very rare, the higheſt favour of the prince, without being hated by the people. Nothing, in a word, ſeemed wanting to complete his happineſs but a kind miſtreſs; and ſuch a one ſoon preſented herſelf, in lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, ſimilar to himſelf in weakneſs of underſtanding, and equal in perſonal attractions.

THIS lady, when but thirteen years of age, had unfortunately been married to the earl of Eſſex, from the king's too eager deſire of uniting the families of Howard and Devereux; and as her huſband was only fourteen, it was thought proper to ſend him on his travels, till they ſhould arrive at the age of puberty. But ſuch ſeparations are always dangerous, whatever may be the

36. Kennet.

age

age of the parties. Marriage awakens certain ideas in the female mind, which are beſt compoſed in the arms of a huſband. Of this truth, Eſſex had melancholy experience. Lady Frances, during his abſence, had opened her heart to the allurements of love; and although on his return to England, after travelling four years, he was pleaſed to find his counteſs in all the bloom of youth and beauty, he had the mortification to diſcover, that her affections were totally alienated from him. Though forced by her parents to ſhare his bed, ſhe perſiſted in denying him the dues of marriage. At length diſguſted by ſuch coldneſs, he ſeparated himſelf from her, and left her to purſue her own inclinations. This was what ſhe wanted. The high fortune and ſplendid accompliſhments of the favourite had taken entire poſſeſſion of her ſoul: and ſhe thought that, ſo long as ſhe refuſed to conſummate her marriage with Eſſex, ſhe could never be deemed his wife; conſequently, that a ſeparation and divorce might ſtill open the way to a new marriage with her beloved Rocheſter. He himſelf was of the ſame opinion, and alſo deſirous of ſuch an union. Paradoxical as it may ſeem, though the violence of their paſſion was ſuch, that they had already indulged themſelves in all the gratifications of love, and though they had frequent opportunities of intercourſe, they yet found themſelves unhappy, becauſe the tie between them was not indiſſoluble, and ſeem to have been equally impatient to crown their attachment with the ſanction of the church. A divorce was accordingly procured, through the influence of the king, and the co-operation of Eſſex; and, in order to preſerve the counteſs from loſing any rank by her new marriage, Rocheſter was created earl of Somerſet [37].

LETTER II.

A. D. 1612.

37. Franklin. Kennet. *State Trials*, vol. i.

THIS

PART II. A.D. 1612.

THIS amour and its conſequences afford an awful leſſon on the fatal effects of licentious love; but at the ſame time prove, that vice is leſs dangerous than folly in the intercourſe of the ſexes, when connected with the intrigues of a court. Though Sir Thomas Overbury, without any ſcruple, had encouraged his friend's paſſion for the counteſs of Eſſex, while he conſidered it merely as an affair of gallantry, his prudence was alarmed at the idea of marriage; and he repreſented to Rocheſter, not only how invidious and difficult an undertaking it would prove to get her divorced from her huſband, but how ſhameful it would be to take to his own bed a profligate woman, who, although married to a young nobleman of the firſt rank, had not ſcrupled to proſtitute her character, and beſtow her favours on the object of a capricious and momentary impulſe; on a lover whom ſhe muſt ſuppoſe would deſert her on the firſt variable guſt of looſe deſire.

ROCHESTER was ſo weak as to reveal this converſation to the counteſs, and ſo baſe as to enter into her vindictive views; to ſwear vengeance againſt his friend, for the ſtrongeſt inſtance he could receive of his fidelity. Some contrivance was neceſſary for the execution of their diabolical ſcheme. Overbury's conduct was miſrepreſented to the king, who granted a warrant for committing him to the Tower; where he lay till the divorce was procured, and Rocheſter's marriage with the counteſs celebrated. Nor did this ſucceſs, or the miſery of the priſoner, who was debarred the ſight even of his neareſt relations, ſatisfy the vengeance of that violent woman. She engaged her huſband and her uncle, the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious deſign of taking off Overbury by poiſon [38]; and they, in conjunc-

38. *State Trials*, vol. i.

tion

tion with Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, at length effected their cruel purpoſe.

A. D. 1615.

THOUGH the precipitation with which Overbury's funeral was hurried over, immediately bred a ſtrong ſuſpicion of the cauſe of his death, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till ſome years after; when it was diſcovered by means of an apothecary's ſervant, who had been employed in making up the poiſons, and the whole labyrinth of guilt diſtinctly traced to its ſource [39].

BUT although Somerſet had ſo long eſcaped the inquiry of juſtice, he had not eſcaped the ſcrutiny of conſcience, which continually pointed to him his murdered friend; and even within the circle of a court, amid the blandiſhments of flattery and of love, ſtruck him with the repreſentation of his ſecret enormity, and diffuſed over his mind a deep melancholy, which was neither to be diſpelled by the ſmiles of beauty, nor the rays of royal favour. The graces of his perſon gradually diſappeared, and his gaiety and politeneſs were loſt in ſullenneſs and ſilence.

THE king, whoſe affections had been caught by theſe ſuperficial accompliſhments, finding his favourite no longer contribute to his amuſement, and unable to account for ſo remarkable a change, more readily liſtened to the accuſations brought againſt him. A rigorous inquiry was ordered; and Somerſet and his counteſs were found guilty, but pardoned through the indiſcreet lenity of James. They languiſhed out their remaining years, which were many and miſerable, in infamy and obſcurity; alike hating, and hated by each other [40]. Sir Jervis Elvis, and the inferior criminals, ſuffered the puniſhment due to their guilt.

39. *State Trials*, vol. i. 40. Kennet.

LETTER II.

ENGLAND *and* SCOTLAND, *from the Riſe of* BUCKINGHAM *to the Death of* JAMES I.

LETTER II.

A.D. 1615.

THE fall of Somerſet, and his baniſhment from court, opened the way for a new favourite to riſe at once to the higheſt honours. George Villiers, an Engliſh gentleman, of an engaging figure, and in all the bloom of twenty-one, had already attracted the eye of James; and, at the interceſſion of the queen, had been appointed cup-bearer [1]. This office, ſo happily ſuited to youth and beauty, but which, when they become the cauſe of peculiar favour, revives in the mind certain Grecian alluſions, might well have contented Villiers, and have attached him to the king's perſon: nor would ſuch a choice have been cenſured, except by the cynically ſevere [2]. But the profuſe bounty of James induced him, in the courſe of a few years, contrary to all the rules of prudence and politics, to create his minion viſcount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the Garter, maſter of the horſe, chief juſtice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, maſter of the King's Bench, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high admiral of England [3].

THIS rapid advancement of Villiers, which rendered him for ever raſh and inſolent, involved the king in new

1. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

2. James, who affected ſagacity and deſign in his moſt trifling concerns, inſiſted, we are told, on the ceremony of the queen's ſoliciting this office for Villiers, as an apology to the world for his ſudden predelection in favour of that young gentleman. Coke, p. 46.

3. Franklin, p. 30. Clarendon, vol. i.

neceſſities,

neceſſities, in order to ſupply the extravagance of his minion. A price had already been affixed to every rank of nobility, and the title of Baronet invented, and currently ſold for one thouſand pounds, to ſupply the profuſion of Somerſet [4]. Some new expedient muſt now be ſuggeſted; and one very unpopular, though certainly leſs diſgraceful than the former, was embraced: the cautionary towns were delivered up to the Dutch for a ſum of money. Theſe towns, as I have formerly had occaſion to notice [5], were the Brill, Fluſhing, and Rammakins; three important places, which Elizabeth had got conſigned into her hands by the United Provinces, on entering into war with Spain, as a ſecurity for the repayment of the money which ſhe might diſburſe on their account. Part of the debt, which at one time amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds, was already diſcharged; and the remainder, after making an allowance for the annual expence of the garriſons, was agreed to be paid on the ſurrender of the fortreſſes [6]. This ſeems to have been all that impartial juſtice could demand, yet the Engliſh nation was highly diſſatisfied with the tranſaction; and it muſt be owned, that a politic prince would have been ſlow in relinquiſhing poſſeſſions, on whatever conditions obtained, which enabled him to hold in a degree of ſubjection ſo conſiderable a neighbouring power as the republic of Holland.

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A. D. 1616.

4. Franklin, p. 11. 5. Part I. Lett. lxix.

6. Winwood, vol. ii. Ruſhworth, vol. i. Mrs. Macaulay thinks Elizabeth acted very ungenerouſly in demanding any thing from the Dutch for the aſſiſtance ſhe lent them: "It ought, by all the obligations of virtue, to have been a free gift." (*Hiſt. Eng.* vol. i.) That the Engliſh queen took advantage of the neceſſities of the infant republic, to obtain poſſeſſion of the cautionary towns, is certain; and the Dutch, now become more opulent, took advantage of James's neceſſities to get them back again. Juſtice and generoſity were in both caſes, as in moſt tranſactions between nations, entirely out of the queſtion.

PART II. A. D. 1617.

THE next meaſure in which James engaged rendered him as unpopular in Scotland as he was already in England. It was an attempt to eſtabliſh a conformity in worſhip and diſcipline between the churches of the two kingdoms; a project which he had long held in contemplation, and toward the completion of which he had taken ſome introductory ſteps. But the principal part of the buſineſs was reſerved till the king ſhould pay a viſit to his native country. Such a journey he now undertook. This naturally leads us to conſider the affairs of Scotland.

IT might have been readily foreſeen by the Scots, when the crown of England devolved upon James, that the independency of their kingdom, for which their anceſtors had ſhed ſo much blood, would thenceforth be loſt; and that, if both kingdoms perſevered in maintaining ſeparate laws and parliaments, the weaker muſt feel the ſubjection more ſenſibly than if it had been ſubdued by force of arms. But this idea did not generally occur to the Scottiſh nobles, formerly ſo jealous of the power as well as of the prerogatives of their princes; and as James was daily giving new proofs of his friendſhip and partiality towards his countrymen, by loading them with riches and honours, the hope of his favour concurred with the dread of his power, in taming their fierce and independent ſpirits. The will of the ſovereign became the ſupreme law in Scotland; while the nobles, left in full poſſeſſion of their feudal juriſdiction over their own vaſſals, exhauſting their fortunes by the expence of frequent attendance upon the Engliſh court, and by attempts to imitate the manners and luxury of their more wealthy neighbours, multiplied exactions upon the people; who durſt ſcarce utter complaints, which they knew would never reach the ear of their ſovereign,

vereign, or be too feeble to move him to grant them redreſs [7]. Thus ſubjected at once to the abſolute will of a monarch, and to the oppreſſive juriſdiction of an ariſtocracy, Scotland ſuffered all the miſeries peculiar to both theſe forms of government. Its kings were deſpots, its nobles were ſlaves and tyrants, and the people groaned under the rigorous domination of both [8]. LETTER II. A.D. 1617.

THERE was one privilege, however, which the Scottiſh nobility in general, and the great body of the people, were equally zealous in protecting againſt the encroachments of the crown; namely, the independency of their church or kirk. The cauſe of this zeal deſerves to be traced.

DIVINES are divided in regard to the government of the primitive church. It appears, however, to have been that of the moſt perfect equality among the Chriſtian teachers, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Preſbyters; an appellation expreſſive of their gravity and wiſdom, as well as of their age. But the moſt perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of a ſuperior magiſtrate. Soon made ſenſible of this by experience, the primitive Chriſtians were induced to chuſe one of the wiſeſt and moſt holy among their Preſbyters, to execute the duties of an eccleſiaſtical governor; and, in order to avoid the trouble and confuſion of annual or occaſional elections, his office continued during life, unleſs in caſes of degradation, on account of irregularity of conduct. His juriſdiction con-

7. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* vol. ii. Hume, *Hiſt. Eng.* vol. vi.

8. Before the acceſſion of James I. to the throne of England, the feudal ariſtocracy ſubſiſted in full force in Scotland. Then the vaſſals both of the king and of the nobles, from mutual jealouſy, were courted and careſſed by their ſuperiors, whoſe power and importance depended on their attachment and fidelity. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1617.

ſiſted in the adminiſtration of the ſacraments and diſcipline of the church; in the ſuperintendency of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increaſed in number and variety; in the conſecration of Chriſtian teachers, to whom the eccleſiaſtical governor or *biſhop* aſſigned their reſpective functions; in the management of the public funds, and in the determination of all ſuch differences as the faithful were unwilling to expoſe to the Heathen world [9]. Hence the origin of the epiſcopal hierarchy, which roſe to ſuch an enormous height under the Chriſtian emperors and Roman pontiffs.

WHEN the enormities of the church of Rome, by rouſing the indignation of the enlightened part of mankind, had called forth the ſpirit of reformation, that abhorrence excited by the vices of the clergy was ſoon transferred to their perſons; and thence, by no violent tranſition, to the offices which they enjoyed. It may therefore be preſumed, that the ſame holy fervour which aboliſhed the doctrines of the Romiſh church, would alſo have overturned its eccleſiaſtical government, in every country where the Reformation was received, unleſs reſtrained by the civil power. In England, in great part of Germany, and in the Northern kingdoms, ſuch reſtraint was impoſed on it by the policy of their princes; ſo that the ancient epiſcopal juriſdiction, under a few limitations, was retained in the churches of thoſe countries. But in Switzerland and the Netherlands, where the nature of the government allowed full ſcope to the ſpirit of reformation, all pre-eminence of rank in the church was deſtroyed, and an eccleſiaſtical

9. See Moſheim's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, cent. i. ii. and Hooker's *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, lib. vii. et ſeq. A biſhop, during the firſt and ſecond centuries, was only preſident in a council of preſbyters, and the head of one Chriſtian aſſembly; and whenever the epiſcopal chair became vacant, a new preſident was choſen from among the Preſbyters, by the ſuffrage of the whole congregation. Moſheim, ubi ſupra.

govern-

government eſtabliſhed, more ſuitable to the genius of a republican policy, and to the ideas of the reformers. This ſyſtem, which has ſince been called *Preſbyterian*, was formed upon the model of the primitive church. LETTER II. A.D. 1617.

IT ought, however, to be remarked, that the genius of the reformers, as well as the ſpirit of the Reformation and the civil polity, had a ſhare in the eſtabliſhment of the Preſbyterian ſyſtem. Zuinglius and Calvin, the apoſtles of Switzerland, were men of a more auſtere turn of mind than Luther, whoſe doctrines were generally embraced in England, Germany, and the North of Europe, where epiſcopacy ſtill prevails. The church of Geneva, formed under the eye of Calvin, and by his direction, was eſteemed the moſt perfect model of Preſbyterian government; and Knox, the apoſtle of Scotland, who, during his reſidence in that city, had ſtudied and admired it, warmly recommended it to the imitation of his countrymen. The Scottiſh converts, filled with the moſt violent averſion againſt popery, and being under no apprehenſions from the civil power, which the rage of reformation had humbled, with ardour adopted a ſyſtem ſo admirably ſuited to their predominant paſſion[10]. Its effects on their minds were truly aſtoniſhing, if not altogether preternatural.

A MODE of worſhip, the moſt naked and ſimple imaginable, which borrowing nothing from the ſenſes, leaves the mind to repoſe itſelf entirely on the contemplation of the divine eſſence, was ſoon obſerved to produce great commotions in the breaſt, and in ſome inſtances to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. Straining for thoſe extatic raptures, the ſuppoſed operations of that divine ſpirit by which

10. See Part I. Let. iv.

PART II. A. D. 1617. they imagined themſelves to be animated; reaching them by ſhort glances, and ſinking again under the weakneſs of humanity, the firſt Preſbyterians in Scotland were ſo much occupied in this mental exerciſe, that they not only rejected the aid of all exterior pomp and ceremony, but fled from every chearful amuſement, and beheld with horror the approach of corporeal delight[11].

It was this gloomy fanaticiſm, which had by degrees infected all ranks of men, and introduced a ſullen, obſtinate ſpirit into the people, that chiefly induced James to think of extending to Scotland the more moderate and chearful religion of the church of England. He had early experienced the inſolence of the Preſbyterian clergy; who, under the appearance of poverty and ſanctity, and a zeal for the glory of God, and the ſafety and purity of the kirk, had concealed the moſt dangerous cenſorial and inquiſitorial powers, which they ſometimes exerciſed with all the arrogance of a Roman conſiſtory.

In 1596, when James, by the advice of a convention of eſtates, had granted permiſſion to Huntley, Errol, and other catholic noblemen, who had been baniſhed the realm, to return to their own houſes, on giving ſecurity for their peaceable and dutiful behaviour, a committee of the general aſſembly of the kirk had the audacity to write circular letters to all the Preſbyteries in Scotland, commanding them to publiſh in all their pulpits, an act of excommunication againſt the popiſh lords, and enjoining them to lay all thoſe who were *ſuſpected* of favouring popery under the *ſame cenſure* by

11. Keith. Knox.

a *ſum-*

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ſummary ſentence, and *without obſerving* the *uſual formalities* of *trial*[12]! On this occaſion one of the Preſbyterian miniſters declared from the pulpit, that the king, in permitting the popiſh lords to return, had diſcovered the treachery of his own heart; that all kings were the devil's children, and that Satan had now the guidance of the court[13]! Another affirmed, in the principal church of the capital, that the king was poſſeſſed of a devil, and that his ſubjects might lawfully riſe, and take the ſword out of his hand[14]!

In conſequence of theſe inflammatory ſpeeches and audacious proceedings, the citizens of Edinburgh roſe, and ſurrounding the houſe in which the Court of Seſſion was ſitting, and where the king happened to be preſent, demanded ſome of his counſellors, whom they named, that they might tear them in pieces. On his refuſal, ſome called, "Bring out the wicked Haman!" while others cried, "The ſword of the Lord and of "Gideon!" And James was for ſome time a priſoner in the heart of his own capital, and at the mercy of the enraged populace[15].

But the king's behaviour on that occaſion, which was firm and manly, as well as political, reſtored him to the good opinion of his ſubjects in general. The populace diſperſed, on his promiſing to receive their petitions, when preſented in a regular form; and this fanatical inſurrection, inſtead of overturning, ſerved only to eſtabliſh the royal authority. Thoſe concerned in it, as ſoon as their enthuſiaſtic rage had ſubſided, were filled with apprehenſion and terror, at the thoughts of inſulted majeſty; while the body of the people, in order

12. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* vol. ii. 13. Id. ibid.
14. Spotſwood. 15. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* book viii. vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1617. to avoid ſuſpicion, or to gain the favour of their prince; contended who ſhould be moſt forward to execute his vengeance [16].

A CONVENTION of eſtates being called in January 1597, pronounced the late inſurrection to be high treaſon; ordained every clergyman to ſubſcribe a declaration of his ſubmiſſion to the king's juriſdiction, in all matters civil and criminal; impowered magiſtrates to commit inſtantly to priſon any miniſter, who in his ſermons ſhould utter any indecent reflections on the king's conduct, and prohibited any eccleſiaſtical judicatory to meet without the king's licence [17]. Theſe ordinances were confirmed the ſame year, by the general aſſembly of the kirk, which alſo declared ſentences of ſummary excommunication unlawful, and veſted in the crown theright of nominating miniſters to the pariſhes in the principal towns [18].

June 13.

THESE were great and neceſſary ſteps; and perhaps James ſhould have proceeded no farther in altering the government or worſhip of the church of Scotland. But he was not yet ſatisfied: he longed to bring it nearer to the epiſcopal model; and, after various ſtruggles, he acquired ſufficient influence over the Preſbyterian clergy, even before his acceſſion to the crown of England, to get an act paſſed by their general aſſembly, declaring thoſe miniſters, on whom the king ſhould confer the vacant biſhopricks and abbeys, entitled to a vote in parliament [19]. Nor did he ſtop here. No ſooner was he firmly ſeated on the Engliſh throne, than he engaged them, though with ſtill greater reluctance, to receive the biſhops as perpetual preſidents, or moderators, in their eccleſiaſtical ſynods.

16. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* book. viii. 17. Id. ibid.
18. Spotſwood, p. 433. 19. Spotſwood, p. 450.

LETTER II.

THE abhorrence of the Preſbyterian clergy againſt epiſcopacy was ſtill, however, very great: nor could all the devices invented for reſtraining and circumſcribing the ſpiritual juriſdiction of thoſe, who were to be raiſed to theſe new honours, or the hope of ſharing them, allay their jealouſy and fear[20]. James was therefore ſenſible, that he never could eſtabliſh a conformity in worſhip and diſcipline, between the churches of England and Scotland, until he could procure from the Scottiſh parliament an acknowledgement of his own ſupremacy in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes. This was the principal object of his viſit to his native country: where he propoſed to the great council of the nation, which was then aſſembled, that an act might be paſſed, declaring, that "whatever his majeſty ſhould determine in regard to "the external government of the church, with the conſent "of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and a competent number of "the miniſters, ſhould have the force of a law[21]."

A.D. 1617.

June 13.

HAD this bill received the ſanction of parliament, the king's eccleſiaſtical government would have been eſtabliſhed in its full extent; as it was not determined what number of the clergy ſhould be deemed competent, and their nomination was left entirely to himſelf. Some of them proteſted: they apprehended, they ſaid, that, by means of this new authority, the purity of their church would be polluted with all the rites and forms of the church of England; and James, dreading clamour and

20. Perhaps the Preſbyterian clergy might have been leſs obſtinate in rejecting James's ſcheme of uniformity, had any proſpect remained of recovering the patrimony of the church. But that, they knew, had been torn in pieces by the rapacious nobility and gentry, and at their own inſtigation: ſo that all hope of a reſtitution of church-lands was cut off; and without ſuch reſtitution, the eccleſiaſtical dignities could ſcarcely become the object of the ambition of a rational mind.

21. Spotſwood. Franklin.

oppoſition,

PART II. A. D. 1618.

oppoſition, dropped his favourite meaſure. He was able however, next year, to extort a vote from the general aſſembly of the kirk, for receiving certain ceremonies upon which his heart was more particularly ſet; namely, kneeling at the ſacrament, the private adminiſtration of it to ſick perſons, the confirmation of children, and the obſervance of Chriſtmas and other feſtivals [22]. Thus, by an ill-timed zeal for inſignificant forms, the king betrayed, though in an oppoſite manner, an equal narrowneſs of mind with the Preſbyterian clergy, whom he affected to hold in contempt. The conſtrained conſent of the general aſſembly was belied by the inward ſentiments of all ranks of people: even the few, over whom religious prejudices have leſs influence, thought national honour ſacrificed by a ſervile imitation of the modes of worſhip practiſed in England [23].

A SERIES of unpopular meaſures conſpired to increaſe that odium, into which James had now fallen in both kingdoms, and which continued to the end of his reign. The firſt of theſe was the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.

THIS extraordinary man, who ſuggeſted the firſt idea of the Engliſh colonies in North America, and who had attempted, as early as the year 1586, a ſettlement in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, then conſidered as part of Virginia, had alſo made a voyage, in 1595, to Guiana, in South America. The extravagant account which he publiſhed of the riches of this latter country, where no mines of any value have yet been diſcovered, has drawn much cenſure upon his veracity: particularly his deſcription of the apparently fabulous empire and city of Manoa or Eldorado, the ſo-

22. Ibid. 23. Hume, chap. xlvii.

vereign

vereign of which he conjectures poſſeſſed more treaſure, than the Spaniards had drawn from both Mexico and Peru [24]. LETTER II. A.D. 1618.

RALEIGH's motive for uttering theſe ſplendid falſities, ſeems to have been a deſire of turning the avidity of his countrymen toward that quarter of the New World, where the Spaniards had found the precious metals in ſuch abundance. This, indeed, ſufficiently appears from his relation of certain Peruvian prophecies, which expreſsly pointed out the Engliſh as the conquerors and deliverers of that rich country, which he had diſcovered. As he was known, however, to be a man of a romantic turn of mind, and it did not appear that he had enriched himſelf by his voyage, little regard ſeems to have been paid to his narrative either by Elizabeth or the nation. But after he had languiſhed many years in confinement, as a puniſhment for his conſpiracy againſt James; when the envy excited by his ſuperior talents was laid aſleep, and commiſeration awakened for his unhappy condition, a report which he propagated of a wonderfully rich gold mine that he had formerly diſcovered in Guiana, obtained univerſal belief. People of all ranks were impatient to take poſſeſſion of a country overflowing with the precious metals, and to which the nation was ſuppoſed to have a right by priority of diſcovery.

THE king, by his own account, gave little credit to this report; not only becauſe he believed there was no ſuch mine in nature as the one deſcribed, but becauſe he conſidered Raleigh as a man of deſperate fortune, whoſe buſineſs it was by any means to procure his freedom, and reinſtate himſelf in credit and authority [25]. Think-

24. See his *Relat.* in Hackluyt's *Collect.*

25. King James's *Vindication*, in the *Harleian Miſcellany*, vol. iii. No. 2.

ing

PART II. A. D. 1618.

ing, however, that he had already undergone ſufficient puniſhment, James ordered him to be releaſed from the Tower: and when the hopes held out to the nation had induced multitudes to adopt his views, the king gave him permiſſion to purſue the projected enterprize, and veſted him with authority over his fellow-adventurers; but being ſtill diffident of his intentions, he refuſed to grant him a pardon, that he might have ſome check upon his future conduct [26].

THE preparations made, in conſequence of this commiſſion, alarmed Gondomar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador; and although Raleigh proteſted the innocence of his intentions, and James urged his royal prohibition againſt invading any of the ſettlements of his Catholic Majeſty, that miniſter conveyed to his court intelligence of the expedition, and his apprehenſions from it. Twelve armed veſſels, he juſtly concluded, could not be fitted out without ſome purpoſe of hoſtility; and as Spain was then the only European power that had poſſeſſions in that part of America to which this fleet was deſtined, orders were given by the court of Madrid for fortifying all its ſettlements on or near the coaſt of Guiana.

IT ſoon appeared, that this precaution was not unneceſſary. Though Raleigh's commiſſion impowered him only to ſettle on a coaſt poſſeſſed by ſavage and barbarous inhabitants, he ſteered his courſe directly for the river Orinoco, where he knew there was a Spaniſh town, named St. Thomas; and, without any provocation, ſent a detachment, under his ſon and his old aſſociate, captain Keymis, who had accompanied him in his former voyage, to diſlodge the Spaniards, and take poſſeſſion of that town; while he himſelf, with the larger veſſels, guarded the mouth of the river, in order to obſtruct ſuch

26. Id. ibid.

Spaniſh

Spaniſh ſhips as ſhould attempt the relief of the place [27]. The Spaniards, appriſed of this invaſion, oppoſed the landing of the Engliſh, as they had foreſeen. Young Raleigh was killed by a ſhot, while animating his followers: Keymis, however, and his ſurviving companions, not diſmayed by that unfortunate incident, took, plundered, and burnt St. Thomas; but found in it no booty any way adequate to their expectations [28]. LETTER II. A. D. 1618.

It might have been expected, that theſe bold adventurers, having overcome all oppoſition, would now have gone in queſt of the gold mine, the great object of their enterprize, as Keymis was ſaid to be as well, if not better, acquainted with it than Raleigh. But, although that officer affirmed he was within a few miles of the place, he refuſed under the moſt abſurd pretences, to carry his companions thither, or to take any effectual ſtep for again finding it himſelf. Struck, as it ſhould ſeem, with the atrocity of his conduct, and with his embarraſſing ſituation, he immediately returned to Raleigh with the

27. All theſe particulars may be diſtinctly collected from the king's *Vindication*, and Raleigh's *Apology*.

28. In apology for this violence, it has been ſaid, that the Spaniards had built the town of St. Thomas in a country originally diſcovered by Raleigh; and therefore he had a right to diſpoſſeſs them. Admitting that to be the caſe, Raleigh could never be excuſeable in making war without any commiſſion impowering him ſo to do; much leſs in invading the Spaniſh ſettlements contrary to his commiſſion. But the fact is otherwiſe: the Spaniards had frequently viſited the coaſt of Guiana before Raleigh touched upon it. Even as early as the year 1499, Alonzo de Ojedo and Americus Veſpucius had landed at different places on that coaſt, and made ſome excurſions up the country: (Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv. cap. 1, 2.) and the great Columbus himſelf had diſcovered the mouth of the Oronoco ſome years before. Between three and four hundred Spaniards are ſaid to have been killed by Keymis and his party, at the ſacking of St. Thomas. "This is the *true mine!*" ſaid young Raleigh, as he ruſhed on to the attack;—"and none but fools looked for "any other." Howel's *Letters*, vol. ii.

ſorrow-

PART II. A. D. 1618.

ſorrowful news of his ſon's death, and the diſappointment of his followers. The interview, it may be conjectured, was not the moſt agreeable that could have enſued between the parties. Under the ſtrong agitation of mind which it occaſioned, Keymis, keenly ſenſible to reproach, and foreſeeing diſgrace, if not an ignominious death, as the reward of his violence and impoſture, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his life.

THE ſequel of this deluſive and pompous expedition, it is ſtill more painful to relate. The adventurers in general now concluded, that they were deceived by Raleigh; that the ſtory of the mine had only been invented to afford him a pretext for pillaging St. Thomas, the ſpoils of which, he hoped, would encourage his followers to proceed to the plunder of other Spaniſh ſettlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortune by ſuch daring enterprizes, truſting to the riches he ſhould acquire for obtaining a pardon from James; or if that proſpect failed him, that he meant to take refuge in ſome foreign country, where his wealth would ſecure him an aſylum [29]. The inconſiderable booty gained by the ſack of St. Thomas, diſcouraged his followers, however, from embracing theſe ſplendid projects, though it appears that he employed many artifices to engage them in his deſigns. Beſides, they ſaw a palpable abſurdity in a fleet, acting under the ſanction of royal authority, committing depredations againſt the allies of the crown: they therefore thought it ſafeſt, whatever might be their inclinations, or how great ſoever their diſappointment, to return immediately to England, and carry their leader along with them to anſwer for his conduct.

29. See the King's *Vindication*.

ON

LETTER II.

A. D. 1618.

On the examination of Raleigh and his companions, before the privy council, where the foregoing facts were brought to light, it appeared that the king's ſuſpicions, in regard to his intentions, had been well grounded; that, contrary to his inſtructions, he had committed hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of his majeſty's ally, the king of Spain, and had wilfully burned and deſtroyed a town belonging to that prince; ſo that he might have been tried either by common law for this act of violence, or by martial law for breach of orders. But it was the opinion of all the crown-lawyers, as we learn from Bacon [30], That as Raleigh ſtill lay under an actual attainder for high treaſon, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. James, therefore, in order to ſatisfy the court of Madrid, which was very clamorous on this occaſion, ſigned the warrant for his execution upon his former ſentence.

Raleigh's behaviour, ſince his return, had hitherto been beneath the dignity of his character. He had counterfeited madneſs, ſickneſs, and a variety of diſtempers, in order to protract his examination, and enable him to procure the means of his eſcape. But finding his fate inevitable, he now collected all his courage, and met death with the moſt heroic indifference. Feeling the edge of the axe with which he was to be beheaded, "'Tis a ſharp remedy," ſaid he, "but a ſure one for "all ills [31]!" then calmly laid his head on the block, and received the fatal blow.

Of all the tranſactions of a reign diſtinguiſhed by public diſcontent, this was perhaps the moſt odious. Men of every condition were filled with indignation againſt

30, See *Original Letters*, &c. publiſhed by Dr. Birch, p. 181.
31. Franklin.

the

PART II. A.D. 1620.

the court. Even ſuch as acknowledged the juſtice of Raleigh's puniſhment, blamed the meaſure. They thought it cruel to execute a ſentence, originally ſevere, and tacitly pardoned, which had been ſo long ſuſpended; and they conſidered it as mean and impolitic, even though a new trial had been inſtituted, to ſacrifice to a concealed enemy of England, the only man in the kingdom whoſe reputation was high for valour and military experience.

UNHAPPILY for James, the intimate connexions, which he was endeavouring to form with Spain, in themſelves diſguſtful to the nation, increaſed the public diſſatisfaction. Gondomar, ambaſſador from the court of Madrid, a man capable of the moſt artful flattery, and no ſtranger to the king's hereditary pride, had propoſed a match between the prince of Wales and the ſecond daughter of his Catholic majeſty; and, in order to render the temptation irreſiſtible to the Engliſh monarch, whoſe neceſſities were well known, he gave hopes of an immenſe fortune with the Spaniſh princeſs. Allured by the proſpect of that alliance, James, it has been affirmed, was not only induced to bring Raleigh to the block, but to abandon the elector Palatine, his ſon-in-law, and the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany, to the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria. This latter ſuſpicion completed the odium occaſioned by the former, and rouſed the attention of parliament.

WE have formerly had occaſion to obſerve [32], in what manner Frederic V. elector Palatine, was induced, by the perſecuted Proteſtants, to accept the crown of Bohemia, contrary to the advice of the king of England, his father-in-law; and how he was chaſed from that kingdom, and ſtript of all his hereditary dominions, by

32. Part I. Let. lxxiv.

the

the power of the emperor Ferdinand II. ſupported by the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts the Evangelical Union, or Proteſtant body in Germany, though aſſiſted by the United Provinces. The news of theſe diſaſters no ſooner reached England than the voice of the nation was loud againſt the king's inactivity. People of all ranks were on fire to engage in the defence of the diſtreſſed Palatine, and reſcue their Proteſtant brethren from the perſecutions of the idolatrous Catholics, their implacable and cruel enemies. In this quarrel they would chearfully have marched to the extremity of Europe, have inconſiderately plunged themſelves into a chaos of German politics, and freely have expended the blood and treaſure of the kingdom. They therefore regarded James's neutrality as a baſe deſertion of the cauſe of God and of his holy religion; not reflecting, that their interference in the wars on the continent, however agreeable to pious zeal, could not be juſtified on any ſound maxims of policy. LETTER II. A. D. 1620.

THE king's ideas, relative to this matter, were not more liberal than thoſe of his ſubjects; but happily, for once, they were more friendly to the welfare of the nation. Shocked at the revolt of a people againſt their prince, he refuſed, on that account, to patronize the Bohemian Proteſtants, or to beſtow on his ſon-in-law the title of king [33]; although he owned that he had not examined their pretenſions, privileges, or conſtitution [34]. To have withdrawn their allegiance from their ſovereign, under whatever circumſtances, was, in his eyes, an enormous crime, and a ſufficient reaſon for denying

33. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

34. It was a very dangerous precedent, he ſaid, againſt all Chriſtian kings, to allow the tranſlation of a crown by the people. Franklin, p. 48.

PART II. A. D. 1620.

them any ſupport; as if ſubjects muſt ever be in the wrong, when they ſtand in oppoſition to thoſe who have acquired, or aſſumed authority over them, how much ſoever that authority may have been abuſed!

THE Spaniſh match is likewiſe allowed to have had ſome influence upon the political ſentiments of James, on this occaſion. He flattered himſelf that, in conſequence of his ſon's marriage with the infanta, and the intimate connexions it would form between England and Spain, beſides other advantages, the reſtitution of the Palatinate might be procured from motives of mere friendſhip. The principal members of the Houſe of Commons, however, thought very differently: that projected marriage was the great object of their terror. They ſaw no good that could reſult from it, but were apprehenſive of a multitude of evils, which, as the guardians of public liberty and general happineſs, they thought it their duty to prevent. They accordingly framed a remonſtrance to the king, repreſenting the enormous growth of the Auſtrian power, become dangerous to the liberties of Europe, and the alarming progreſs of the ca-
A. D. 1621. tholic religion in England. And they entreated his Majeſty inſtantly to take arms in defence of the Palatine; to turn his ſword againſt Spain, whoſe treaſures were the chief ſupport of the catholic intereſt over Europe; and to exclude all hope of the toleration or re-eſtabliſhment of popery in the kingdom, by entering into no negociation for the marriage of his ſon, Charles, but with a Proteſtant princeſs. Yet more effectually to extinguiſh that idolatrous worſhip, they requeſted that the fines and confiſcations to which the catholics were ſubject, by law, ſhould be levied with the utmoſt rigour; and that the children of ſuch as refuſed to conform to the eſtabliſhed

worſhip ſhould be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of Proteſtant divines and ſchoolmaſters[35]. LETTER II. A.D. 1621.

INFLAMED with indignation at hearing of theſe inſtructions, which militated againſt all his favourite maxims of government, James inſtantly wrote to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, commanding him to admoniſh the members, in his Majeſty's name, not to preſume to meddle with any thing that regarded his government, or with deep matters of ſtate, as above their reach and capacity; and eſpecially not to touch on his ſon's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king or any other of his friends and confederates[36]. Conſcious of their ſtrength and popularity, the commons were rather rouſed than intimidated by this imperious letter. Along with a new remonſtrance they returned the former, which had been withdrawn, and maintained, That they were entitled to interpoſe with their counſel in all matters of government; and that entire freedom of ſpeech, in their debates on public buſineſs, was their *ancient* and *undoubted right*, and an *inheritance* tranſmitted to them *from* their *anceſtors*[37].

THE king's reply was keen and ready. He told the houſe, that their remonſtrance was more like a denunciation of war than an addreſs of dutiful and loyal ſubjects; that their pretenſion to inquire into all ſtate-affairs, without exception, was a *plenipotence* to which none of their anceſtors, even during the weakeſt reigns, had ever dared to aſpire And he cloſed his anſwer with the following memorable words, which diſcover a very

35. Ruſhworth, vol. i. 36. Id. ibid.
37. Ruſhworth, ubi ſup. See alſo Franklin and Kennet.

PART. II. A. D. 1621.

conſiderable ſhare of political ſagacity. "Although "we cannot allow of your ſtyle, in mentioning your "*ancient* and *undoubted right* and *inheritance*, but would "rather have wiſhed, that ye had ſaid, that your privi- "leges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of "our anceſtors and us (for the moſt of them grew from "precedents, which ſhew rather a toleration than inhe- "ritance); yet we are pleaſed to give you our royal aſ- "ſurance, that as long as you contain yourſelves within "the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to main- "tain and preſerve your lawful liberties and privileges as "ever any of our predeceſſors were, nay as to preſerve "our own royal prerogative[38]."

ALARMED at this dangerous inſinuation, that their privileges were derived from royal favour, the commons framed a proteſt, in which they oppoſed pretenſion to pretenſion, and declared, "That the *liberties*, "*franchiſes*, *privileges*, and *juriſdictions* of *parliament*, are "the *ancient* and *undoubted birth-right* and *inheritance* of "the *ſubjects of England*; and that the arduous and ur- "gent affairs concerning the *king*, *ſtate*, and *defence* of "the *realm*, and of the *church of England*, and the *main- "tenance* and *making of laws*, and *redreſs of grievances*, "which daily happen within this realm, are *proper ſub- "jects*, and matter of *counſel* or *debate* in *parliament*; and "that in the handling and proceeding on theſe buſi- "neſſes, *every member* of the houſe of parliament *hath*, "and of *right ought* to *have*, *freedom of ſpeech* to pro- "pound, treat, reaſon, and bring to concluſion the "ſame[39]."

THUS, my dear Philip, was fully opened, between the king and parliament, the grand diſpute concerning Privi-

38. Franklin. Ruſhworth. 39. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

lege and Prerogative, which gave birth to the *Court* and *Country Parties*, and which ſo long occupied the tongues, the pens, and even ſwords, of the moſt able and active men in the nation. Without entering deeply into this diſpute (of which you muſt make yourſelf maſter by conſulting the controverſial writers), or taking ſide with either party, it may be obſerved, That if our anceſtors, from the violent invaſion of William the Norman to the period of which we are treating, did not enjoy ſo perfect, or perhaps ſo extenſive a ſyſtem of liberty, as ſince the Revolution, in 1688, they were at no time *legally* ſubject to the rule of an abſolute ſovereign; and that, although the victorious arms and inſidious policy of a foreign and hoſtile prince obliged them, in the hour of misfortune, to ſubmit to his ambitious ſway, and to the tyrannical laws which he afterwards thought proper to impoſe upon the nation, the ſpirit of liberty was never extinguiſhed in the breaſts of Engliſhmen. They ſtill looked back, with admiration and regret, to their independent condition under their native princes, and to the unlimited freedom of their Saxon forefathers; and, as ſoon as circumſtances would permit, they compelled their princes of the Norman line to reſtore to them the moſt eſſential of their former laws, privileges, and immunities. Theſe *original rights*, as we have ſeen, were repeatedly confirmed to them by *charter*; and if they were alſo frequently violated by encroaching princes, thoſe violations ought never to be pleaded as precedents, every ſuch violation being a flagrant act of injuſtice and perjury, as every king, by his coronation oath, was ſolemnly bound to maintain the national charters. Nor did the people, keenly ſenſible to thoſe injuries and inſults, fail to avenge themſelves, as often as in their power, on the invaders of their liberties, or to take new meaſures for their future ſecurity.

LETTER II. A.D. 1621.

PART I. A. D. 1621.

THIS much is certain; but, whether the commons were at firſt admitted into parliament through the indulgence of the prince, or in conſequence of an original right to ſit there, and what they claimed as their conſtitutional province, are matters of more intricacy, and leſs moment. That ſubject, however, I have had occaſion to conſider in deducing the effects of the Norman revolution, and in tracing the progreſs of ſociety in Europe[40]. It will, therefore, be ſufficient here to obſerve, That the Engliſh government was never a mere monarchy; that there was always a parliament or national aſſembly; that the commons, or third eſtate, had very early, and as ſoon as they were of any political importance, a place in that aſſembly; and that the privileges, for which they now contended, were eſſential to enable them to act with dignity, or indeed in ſuch a manner as to be uſeful to the community, either in their deliberative or legiſlative capacity.

THE ſubſequent tranſactions of James's reign were neither numerous nor important. They afford us, however, a precious picture of the weakneſs and extravagance of human nature; and therefore deſerve our attention, as obſervers of the manners as well of the policy of nations and of the vices and follies, no leſs than of the reſpectable qualities of men.

A. D. 1622.

THE Spaniſh match was ſtill the king's favourite object. In order to facilitate that meaſure, he diſpatched a gentleman of the name of Digby, ſoon after created earl of Briſtol, as his ambaſſador to the court of Madrid, while he ſoftened at home the ſeverity of the laws againſt popiſh recuſants. The ſame religious motives,

40. Part I. Let. xxiii. & xxx.

which

which had hitherto made the Spaniards averſe againſt the marriage now diſpoſed them to promote it. They hoped to ſee the catholic church freed from perſecution, if not the ancient worſhip re-eſtabliſhed in England, by means of the infanta: and ſo full were they of this idea, that Briſtol, a vigilant and diſcerning miniſter, aſſured his maſter, that the Palatine would not only be reſtored to his dominions, but, what was ſtill more agreeable to the needy monarch, that a dowry of two millions of peſos, or about five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, would accompany the royal bride [41].

A. D. 1622.

THIS alliance, however, was ſtill odious to the Engliſh nation; and Buckingham, become jealous of the reputation of Briſtol, by a moſt abſurd adventure contrived to ruin both him and the negociation. On purpoſe to ingratiate himſelf into the favour of the prince of Wales, with whoſe candid turn of mind he was well acquainted, he repreſented to him the peculiar unhappineſs of princes, in commonly receiving to their arms an unknown bride; one not endeared by ſympathy, not obliged by ſervices, wooed by treaties alone, and attached by no ties but thoſe of political intereſt! that it was in his power, by going into Spain in perſon, to avoid all theſe inconveniencies, and to lay ſuch an obligation on the infanta, if he found her really worthy of his love, as could not fail to warm the coldeſt affections; that his journey to Madrid, ſo conformable to the generous ideas of Spaniſh gallantry, would recommend him to the princeſs under the endearing character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer; and, at the ſame time, would afford him a glorious opportunity of chuſing for

41. Ruſhworth, vol. i. The marriage and the reſtitution of the Palatinate, we are aſſured, by the moſt undoubted teſtimony, were always conſidered by the court of Spain as inſeparable. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. vi. p. 66. Franklin, p. 71. 72.

PART II. A. D. 1622. himſelf, and of examining with his own ſenſes the companion of his future life, and the partner of his bed and throne [42].

A. D. 1623. THESE arguments made a deep impreſſion on the affectionate temper of Charles. He obtained, in an unguarded hour, his father's conſent to the Spaniſh journey: —and off the two adventurers ſet, to the great uneaſineſs of James; who, as ſoon as he had leiſure for reflexion, became afraid of bad conſequences reſulting from the unbridled ſpirit of Buckingham, and the youth and inexperience of his ſon. His apprehenſions were but too well founded; yet, for a time, the affairs of the prince of Wales wore a very promiſing and happy appearance at Madrid. Philip IV. one of the moſt magnificent monarchs that ever ſat on the Spaniſh throne, paid Charles a viſit immediately on his arrival, and expreſſed the utmoſt gratitude for the confidence repoſed in him. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have acceſs to him at all hours. He took the left hand of him on every occaſion, and in every place, except in the apartments aſſigned to Charles; a diſtinction founded on the moſt perfect principles of politeneſs: "For "here," ſaid Philip, "you are at home!" He was introduced into the palace with the ſame pomp and ceremony that attend the kings of Spain at their coronation. All the gaols were thrown open, and all the priſoners received their freedom, as if the moſt fortunate and honourable event had happened to the monarchy [43].

INDEPENDENT of his enthuſiaſtic gallantry toward the infanta, and the unparalleled confidence which he had

42. Clarendon, vol. i. 43. Franklin, p. 74.

placed

placed in the honour of the Spaniſh nation, by his romantic journey to Madrid, the decent reſerve, and modeſt deportment of Charles, endeared him to that grave and formal people, and inſpired them with the moſt favourable ideas of his character; while the bold manner, the unreſtrained freedom of diſcourſe, the ſallies of paſſion, the levity and the licentiouſneſs of Buckingham, rendered him odious to the whole court. The grandees could not conceal their ſurprize, that ſuch an unprincipled young man, who ſeemed to reſpect no laws divine or human, ſhould be allowed to obtrude himſelf into a negociation, already almoſt conducted to a happy iſſue, by ſo able a ſtateſman as Briſtol: and the miniſtry hinted a doubt of the ſufficiency of his powers, as they had not been confirmed by the privy council of England, in order to prevent him from aſſuming the merit of the matrimonial treaty. He groſsly inſulted, and publicly quarrelled with Olivarez, the prime miniſter; a circumſtance that drew on him yet greater deteſtation from the Spaniſh courtiers, who contemplated with horror the Infanta's future condition, in being expoſed to the approaches of ſuch a brutal man [44].

LETTER II. A. D. 1623.

SENSIBLE how much he was hated by the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which the court of Madrid would acquire in England, in conſequence of the projected marriage, Buckingham reſolved to poiſon the mind of the prince; and yet, if poſſible, to prevent the nuptials from taking place:—and he effected his purpoſe. But hiſtory has not informed us, by what arguments he induced Charles to offer ſo heinous an affront to the Spaniſh nation, after ſuch generous treatment, and to the Infanta, whom he had gone ſo far to viſit, and for whom he had hitherto expreſſed the warmeſt attachment: In regard to thoſe we are totally in the

44. Clarendon, vol. i. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

dark.

PART II. A.D. 1623.

dark. For although we may conjecture, from his ſubſequent conduct, that they were of the political kind, we only know with certainty, That when the prince of Wales left Madrid, he was firmly determined to break off the treaty with Spain, notwithſtanding all his profeſſions to the contrary; that when Buckingham arrived in England, he aſcribed the failure of the negociation ſolely to the inſincerity and duplicity of the Spaniards; that by means of theſe falſe repreſentations, to which the king and the prince of Wales meanly gave their aſſent, he ingratiated himſelf into the favour of the popular party; and that the nation eagerly ruſhed into a war againſt the Spaniſh monarchy, in order to revenge inſults it had never ſuſtained [45].

THE ſituation of the earl of Briſtol, at the court of Madrid, was now truly pitiable; nor were the domeſtic concerns of that court a little diſtreſſing, or the king of England's embarraſſment ſmall. To abandon a project, which had, during ſo many years, been the chief object of his wiſhes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to ſo deſireable a criſis; a rupture with Spain, and the loſs of two million of peſos, were proſpects by no means agreeable to the pacific temper, and indigent condition of James; but finding his only ſon averſe againſt a match, which had always been odious to his people, and oppoſed by his parliament, he yielded to difficulties which he wanted courage or ſtrength of mind to overcome.

IT was now the buſineſs of Charles and Buckingham to ſeek for pretences, by which they could give ſome appearance of juſtice to their intended breach of treaty. They accordingly employed many artifices, in order to delay or prevent the eſpouſals; and theſe all proving in-

45. Clarendon, vol. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

effectual

effectual, Briſtol at laſt received poſitive orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, until ſecurity was given for the full reſtitution of the Palatinate [46]. The king of Spain underſtood this language. He was acquainted with Buckingham's diſguſt, and had expected that the violent diſpoſition, and unbounded influence of that favourite, would leave nothing unattempted to embroil the two nations. Reſolved, however, to demonſtrate to all Europe the ſincerity of his intentions, and to throw the blame where it was due, he delivered into Briſtol's hands a written promiſe, binding himſelf to procure the reſtoration of the elector Palatine. And when he found that this conceſſion gave no ſatisfaction to the court of England, he ordered the Infanta to lay aſide the title of Princeſs of Wales, which ſhe had borne after the arrival of the diſpenſation from Rome, and to drop the ſtudy of the Engliſh language; commanding, at the ſame time, preparations for war to be made throughout all his extenſive dominions [47].

LETTER II. A. D. 1623

Briſtol who, during Charles's reſidence in Spain, had always oppoſed, though unſucceſsfully, his own wiſe and well tempered counſels to the impetuous meaſures ſuggeſted by Buckingham; and who, even after the prince's departure, had ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the ſincerity of the Spaniards in the conduct of the treaty, as well as on the advantages which England muſt reap from the completion of it, was enraged to find his ſucceſsful labours rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an inſolent minion. But he was not ſurpriſed to hear that the favourite had afterward declared himſelf his open enemy, and thrown out many injurious reflexions againſt him, both before the council and parliament.

46. Ruſhworth, vol. i. Kennet, p. 776. 47. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

Con-

PART II. A. D. 1623.

Conſcious however of his own innocence, Briſtol prepared to leave Madrid on the firſt order to that purpoſe; although the Catholic King, ſorry that this miniſter's enemies ſhould have ſo far prevailed, as to infuſe prejudices into his maſter and his country againſt a ſervant who had ſo faithfully diſcharged his duty to both, entreated him to fix his reſidence in Spain, where he ſhould enjoy all the advantages of rank and fortune, rather than expoſe himſelf to the inveterate malice of his rival, and the ungovernable fury of the Engliſh populace.

BRISTOL's reply was truly magnanimous. While he expreſſed the utmoſt gratitude for that princely offer, he thought himſelf obliged, he ſaid, to decline it; that nothing would more confirm all the calumnies of his enemies than remaining at Madrid; and that the higheſt dignity in the Spaniſh monarchy would be but a poor compenſation for the loſs of that honour, which he muſt endanger by ſuch exaltation. Charmed with this anſwer, which increaſed ſtill farther his eſteem for the Engliſh ambaſſador, Philip begged him at leaſt to accept a preſent of ten thouſand ducats, which might be requiſite for his ſupport, until he could diſſipate the calumnies of his enemies; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that his compliance ſhould for ever remain a ſecret to all the world, and could never come to the knowledge of his maſter. "There is one perſon," replied the generous nobleman, "who muſt neceſſarily know it: he is the earl "of Briſtol, who will certainly reveal it to the king of "England [48]!"

THE king of England was unworthy of ſuch a ſervant. Briſtol, on his return, was immediately com-

48. Franklin, p. 86.

mitted

mitted to the Tower. In vain did he demand an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, and of laying his whole conduct before his maſter. Buckingham and the prince of Wales were inexorable, unleſs he would acknowledge his miſconduct; a propoſal which his high ſpirit rejected with diſdain. After being releaſed from confinement, he was therefore ordered to retire to his country ſeat, and to abſtain from all attendance in parliament [49]. LETTER II. A.D. 1624.

In conſequence of the rupture with Spain, and the hoſtile diſpoſition of the parliament, an alliance was entered into, as we have formerly had occaſion to notice [50], between France and England, in conjunction with the United Provinces, for reſtraining the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, and recovering the Palatinate. A treaty of marriage was about the ſame time negociated between the prince of Wales and Henrietta of France, ſiſter to Lewis XIII. and daughter of Henry IV. an accompliſhed princeſs, whom Charles had ſeen and admired in his way to Madrid, and who retained, during his whole life, a dangerous aſcendency over him, by means of his too tender and affectionate heart [51].

49. Ruſhworth, vol. i. James is perhaps more to be pitied than blamed for his ungenerous treatment of Briſtol, after his return. Supported by the prince of Wales, as well as by the popular party in parliament, Buckingham exerciſed the moſt cruel deſpotiſm over the king, always timid, and now in the decline of life. Yet when Buckingham inſiſted on Briſtol's ſigning a confeſſion of his miſconduct, as the only means of regaining favour at court, James had the ſpirit, and the equity to ſay, That it was "an horrible tyranny to make an innocent "man declare himſelf guilty." Id. ibid.

50. Part I. Let. lxxiv.

51. A ſecret paſſion for this princeſs, had perhaps induced Charles, unknown to himſelf, to liſten to the arguments of Buckingham, for breaking off the Spaniſh match. And if Buckingham had diſcovered that paſſion, he would not fail to make uſe of it for accompliſhing his purpoſe. Such a ſuppoſition forms the beſt apology for Charles's conduct in regard to the Infanta.

THIS

PART II. A.D. 1624.

THIS match was highly agreeable to James; who, although well acquainted with the antipathy of his ſubjects againſt any alliance with Catholics, ſtill perſevered in a romantic opinion, ſuggeſted by hereditary pride, that his ſon would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princeſs of leſs than royal extraction [52]. He did not live, however, to ſee the celebration of the nuptials; but died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, ſoon after the failure of the expedition under count Mansfeldt, for the recovery of the Palatinate, which I have formerly had occaſion to mention, in treating of the affairs of Germany [53].

A.D. 1625. March 27.

That James was contemptible as a monarch muſt perhaps be allowed; but that he was ſo as a man, can by no means be admitted. His diſpoſition was friendly, his temper benevolent, and his humour gay. He poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of both learning and abilities, but wanted that vigour of mind, and dignity of manner, which are eſſential to form a reſpectable ſovereign. His ſpirit, rather than his underſtanding, was weak; and the loftineſs of his pretenſions, contraſted with the ſmallneſs of his kingly power, only perhaps could have expoſed him to ridicule, notwithſtanding the un-

52. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

53. Part I. Let. lxxiv. The troops under Mansfeldt's command, conſiſting of twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, were embarking at Dover; but on ſailing over to Calais, he found no orders yet arrived for their admiſſion. After waiting in vain, for ſuch orders, he judged it neceſſary to ſail towards Zealand; where the troops were again detained, as proper meaſures had not been taken for their debarkation. Meanwhile a peſtilential diſtemper had crept in among the Engliſh ſoldiers, ſo long cooped up in narrow veſſels. One half of the men died while on board; and the other half, weakened by ſickneſs, appeared too feeble a body to march into the Palatinate. Ruſhworth, vol. i. Franklin, p. 104.

graceſulneſs

gracefulneſs of his perſon, and the groſs familiarity of his converſation. His turn of mind inclined him to promote the arts, both uſeful and ornamental; and that peace which he loved, and ſo timidly courted, was favourable to induſtry and commerce. It may therefore be confidently affirmed, That in no preceding period of the Engliſh monarchy was there a more ſenſible increaſe of all the advantages which diſtinguiſh a flouriſhing people, than during the reign of this deſpiſed prince. LETTER II. A. D. 1625.

Of ſix legitimate children, borne to him by Anne of Denmark, James left only one ſon, Charles I. now in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the elector Palatine.—We muſt carry forward the hiſtory of our own iſland, my dear Philip, to the unhappy cataſtrophe of Charles, before we return to the affairs of the continent.

LET-

LETTER III.

ENGLAND, *from the Acceſſion of* CHARLES I. *to the Aſſaſſination of the Duke of* BUCKINGHAM, *in* 1628.

LETTER III.

A. D. 1625.

AS Charles and Buckingham, by breaking off the Spaniſh match, and engaging the nation in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, had acquired the favour of the popular party in the Houſe of Commons, the young king was eager to meet the repreſentative body of his people, that he might have an opportunity of ſhewing himſelf to them in his new character, and of receiving a teſtimony of their dutiful attachment. Thus confident of the affection of his ſubjects, and not doubting but the parliament would afford him a liberal and voluntary ſupply, he employed no intrigue to influence the votes of the members. In his ſpeech from the throne, he ſlightly mentioned the exigencies of the ſtate, but would not ſuffer the officers of the crown, who had ſeats in the houſe, to name or ſolicit any particular ſum: he left the whole to the generoſity of the commons. But the commons had no generoſity for Charles. Never was prince more deceived by placing confidence in any body of men. Though they knew that he was loaded with a large debt, contracted by his father; that he was engaged in a difficult and expenſive war with the whole houſe of Auſtria; that this war was the reſult of their own importunate ſolicitations and entreaties; and that they had ſolemnly engaged to yield the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of it:—in order to anſwer all theſe great and important ends, and demonſtrate their affection to their young ſovereign, they granted him only two ſubſidies, amounting to about an hundred and twelve thouſand pounds[1]!

1. *Cabala*, p. 224.

THE

LETTER III.

A.D. 1625.

THE cauſes of this exceſſive parſimony deſerve to be traced. It is in vain to ſay, That war, during the feudal times, being ſupported by men, not money, the commons were not yet accuſtomed to open their purſes. They muſt have been ſenſible, that the feudal militia being now laid aſide, naval and military enterprizes could not be conducted without money; eſpecially as the heads of the Country Party, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym, were men of great talents and enlarged views. We muſt therefore look deeper for the motives of this cruel mockery of their young king, on his firſt appearance in parliament, and when his neceſſities, and the honour, if not the intereſts of the nation, called for the moſt liberal ſupply.

THESE enlightened patriots, animated with a warm love of liberty, ſaw with regret a too extenſive authority exerciſed by the crown; and regardleſs of former precedents, were determined to ſeize the opportunity which the preſent criſis might afford them, of reſtraining the royal prerogative within more reaſonable bounds, and of ſecuring the privileges of the people by firmer and more preciſe barriers than the conſtitution had hitherto provided for them. They accordingly reſolved to grant no ſupplies to their neceſſitous prince, without extorting proportional conceſſions in favour of civil liberty. And how ungenerous ſoever ſuch a conduct might ſeem, they conceived that it was fully juſtified by the beneficent end they had in view. The means were regular and conſtitutional. To grant or refuſe ſupplies was the undoubted privilege of the commons; and as all human governments, but eſpecially thoſe of a mixed kind, are in contiual fluctuation, it was, in their opinion, as natural and allowable for popular aſſemblies to take advan-

PART II. A.D. 1625.

tage of favourable conjunctures, in order to ſecure the rights of the ſubject, as for ſovereigns to make uſe of ſuch occaſions, in order to extend the royal authority.

BESIDE theſe general arguments, the commons had reaſons of a particular and perſonal nature, which induced them to be ſparing in their aids to the crown. Though Buckingham, in order to ſcreen himſelf from the reſentment of James, who was enraged at his breaking off the Spaniſh match, had affected popularity, and entered into cabals with the Puritans, they were always doubtful of his ſincerity. Now ſecure of the confidence of Charles, he had realized their ſuſpicions, by abandoning them; and was, on that account, the diſtinguiſhed object of their hatred, as well as of their fears. They ſaw, with terror and concern, the whole power of adminiſtration graſped by his ambitious hand; while he governed his maſter by a more abſolute aſcendant than he had ever held over the late king, and poſſeſſed in his ſingle perſon, the moſt conſiderable offices of the ſtate. The reſt were chiefly occupied by his numerous flatterers and dependents; whom his violent temper prompted him to raiſe ſuddenly to the higheſt point of elevation, and to throw down, on the leaſt occaſion of diſpleaſure, with equal impetuoſity and violence. Diſguſted with the failure of the expedition under Mansfeldt, the commons were of opinion, that ſuch a miniſtry was not to be truſted with the management of a war, how laudable ſoever its object; for allowing, what was very improbable, that ſucceſs ſhould attend their meaſures, the event was no leſs to be dreaded. A conquering army, in the hands of unprincipled men, might prove as dangerous to freedom, as the invaſion of a foreign enemy. Religion, at leaſt, would be expoſed to the utmoſt peril; religion, already inſulted by the appearance of popiſh prieſts in their veſtments, and the relaxation of the laws

laws againſt recuſants, in conſequence of the alliance with France [2]; and that too at a time, when the peace of many an honeſt mind was diſturbed, by being obliged to conform to the more decent ceremonies of the church of England, and when many a bold heart trembled at the ſight of a ſurplice. LETTER III. A. D. 1625.

INFLUENCED by theſe reaſonings, however juſtifiable the commons might think their parſimony, it appeared in a very different light to Charles. He at firſt conſidered it as ſpleen againſt Buckingham, and as ſuch ungenerous and cruel; but when he perceived, that it proceeded from a purpoſe of abridging his prerogative, which he thought already too limited, he regarded that purpoſe as highly criminal. Filled with lofty ideas of monarchical power, an attempt to circumſcribe his authority ſeemed to him little leſs than a conſpiracy againſt the throne. He therefore ſpeedily reaſſembled the parliament, which he had been obliged to adjourn on account of the plague, which at that time raged in London. It met at Oxford; and there the king, laying aſide that delicacy which he had hitherto obſerved, endeavoured to draw from the commons a more liberal ſupply, by making them fully acquainted with the ſtate of his affairs; with the debts of the crown, the expences of the war, the ſteps he had taken, and the engagements into which he had entered for conducting it. But all his arguments, and even entreaties, were employed in vain: the commons remained inexorable. They obſtinately refuſed any farther aſſiſtance; though it was known, that a fleet and army were lying at Portſmouth in great want of pay and proviſions, and that Bucking- Aug. 1.

2. A chapel at Somerſet-houſe had been built for the queen and her family, with conveniences thereunto adjoining for Capuchin friars, who had permiſſion to walk abroad in their religious habits. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

PART II. A.D. 1625.

ham and the treaſurer of the navy had advanced, on their own credit, near an hundred thouſand pounds for the ſea ſervice [3]. They anſwered him only by vexatious petitions, and complaints of grievances.

ENRAGED at ſuch obſtinacy, Charles diſſolved the parliament, and attempted to raiſe money by other means. He had recourſe to the old expedient of forcing a loan from the ſubject. For this purpoſe privy-ſeals were iſſued; and, by the ſums ſo raiſed, he was enabled, though with difficulty, to equip his fleet. It conſiſted of eighty ſail, including tranſports, and carried an army of ten thouſand men, deſtined to act as occaſion might require. The chief command was entruſted to lord viſcount Wimbledon, lately Sir Edward Cecil, one of Buckingham's creatures. He ſailed directly for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spaniſh ſhips of great value; yet theſe, through miſconduct, were ſuffered to eſcape. The troops were landed, and a fort was taken. But that being found of ſmall conſequence, and an epidemical diſtemper having broke out among the ſoldiers and ſailors, occaſioned by the immoderate uſe of new wine, Wimbledon re-imbarked his forces; and after cruizing a while off Cape St. Vincent, but without ſucceſs, in hopes of intercepting the Spaniſh plate-fleet, he returned to England with his ſickly crew, to the great diſſatisfaction of the nation [4].

A.D. 1626.

THE failure of an enterprize, from which he expected ſo much treaſure, obliged Charles again to call a parliament, and lay his neceſſities before the commons. They immediately voted him three ſubſidies and three fifteenths, and afterwards added one ſubſidy more; yet

3. *Parliamentary Hiſt.* vol. vi. p. 390. Franklin, p. 113.

4. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

the ſum was ſtill very inadequate to the exigencies of the ſtate, and little fitted to promote the ambitious views of the young king. But the ſcantineſs of this ſupply was not the moſt mortifying circumſtance attending it. The commons, in the firſt inſtance, only voted it; and reſerved, until the end of the ſeſſion, the power of giving that vote the ſanction of a law. In the meantime, under colour of redreſſing grievances, they proceeded in regulating and controuling every part of government; and it required no deep penetration to perceive, that if the king obſtructed their meaſures, or refuſed compliance with their demands, that he muſt expect no aid from parliament. Though Charles expreſſed great diſpleaſure at this conditional mode of ſupply, as well as at the political inquiries of the commons, his preſſing wants obliged him to ſubmit, and wait with patience the iſſue of their deliberations [5].

In order to ſtrike at the root of all their grievances, the commons took a ſtep little expected by the king or his miniſter. They proceeded to impeach the duke of Buckingham, who had long been odious to the nation, and became more ſo every day, by his arrogant behaviour, the uncontrouled aſcendant which he maintained over his maſter, and the pernicious counſels which he was ſuppoſed to have dictated. The uniting of many offices in his perſon, accepting extenſive grants from the crown, and procuring many titles of honour for his kindred, the chief articles of accuſation exhibited againſt him, might perhaps be conſidered as grievances, and juſtly inſpire with reſentment ſuch as thought they had a right to ſhare in the honours and employments of the ſtate, but could not, in the eye of the law, be conſidered as ſufficient grounds for an impeach-

5. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. vi.

PART II. A.D. 1625.

ment. Charles, therefore, thinking the duke's whole guilt conſiſted in being his friend and favourite, raſhly reſolved to ſupport him at all hazards, regardleſs of the fate of the conditional ſupply, or the clamour of the public [6].

THE lord-keeper, in the king's name, accordingly commanded the commons not to meddle with his miniſter and ſervant, Buckingham. A meſſage was alſo ſent them, that if they did not ſpeedily furniſh his majeſty with ſupplies, he would be obliged to try NEW COUNSELS. They went on, however, with their impeachment of the duke; though Sir John Elliot and Sir Dudley Diggs, two of the members who had been employed to conduct it, were ſent to the Tower. And the majority of the houſe, after this inſult, declared they would proceed no farther upon buſineſs, until they were righted in their privileges; and Charles, ever ready to adopt violent counſels, but wanting firmneſs to perſevere in them, finding he had acted with too much precipitancy, ordered the members to be ſet at liberty [7]. Thus irritated, but not intimidated, by a prince who had diſcovered his weakneſs, or imprudence, or both, the commons, regardleſs of the public neceſſities, continued their inquiries into the conduct of Buckingham. But not being able to fix any crime upon him, that could be legally brought under the article of high treaſon, they drew up a petition for removing him from his majeſty's perſon and councils, as an unwiſe and dangerous miniſter [8].

THE affectionate and reſpectful ſtyle of that petition leave great room to believe, that if Charles had com-

6. Franklin, p. 198. Ruſhworth, vol i.
7. Ruſhorth, vol. i.
8. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. vii.

plied

plied with the requeſt of the commons, by renouncing all future connexion with Buckingham, a good underſtanding might yet have been eſtabliſhed between the king and parliament, and all the horrors of civil war prevented; for if the pretenſions of the commons afterwards exceeded the line of the conſtitution, theſe extravagant pretenſions were firſt rouſed by the arbitrary proceedings of the crown, which excited a hatred againſt royal authority, and a deſire of recrimination, which at laſt proved fatal to the monarchy. It may indeed be urged, on the other ſide, that the arbitrary proceedings of the crown were occaſioned by the obſtinacy of the parliament; that Charles had no deſire of oppreſſing his ſubjects, how high ſoever his ideas of prerogative might be, and would never have attempted any unconſtitutional meaſure, if the commons had furniſhed him with the neceſſary and reaſonable ſupplies. Both parties were therefore to blame, and perhaps equally; yet I cannot help believing the commons were ſincere, when they made this ſolemn declaration to the king, in the cloſe of a remonſtrance, that followed their petition. LETTER III. A. D. 1626.

"We profeſs, in the preſence of Almighty God, "the ſearcher of all hearts, that you are as highly "eſteemed and beloved as ever any of your predeceſſors "were!" And, after entreating him to diſmiſs Buckingham from his preſence, they thus apologize for their parſimony: "we proteſt to your majeſty, and "to the whole world, that until this great perſon be "removed from intermeddling with the great affairs of "ſtate, we are out of hope of any good ſucceſs; and "do fear, that any money we ſhall or can give, will, "through his miſemployment, be turned rather to the "prejudice of this your kingdom than otherwiſe, as by "lamentable experience we have found, in thoſe large

PART II. A. D. 1626.

" ſupplies formerly and lately given. But no ſooner " ſhall we receive redreſs and relief in *this*, which of " all others is our moſt inſupportable grievance, but we " ſhall forthwith proceed to accompliſh your majeſty's " own deſire for ſupply; and likewiſe, with all chear- " fulneſs, apply ourſelves to the perfecting of divers " other great things, ſuch as we think no one parlia- " ment in one age can parallel, tending to the ſtability, " wealth, ſtrength, and honour of this your kingdom, " and the ſupport of your friends and allies abroad [9]."

ENRAGED at this ſecond attempt to deprive him of his miniſter and favourite, Charles paid no regard to the prayer of the commons, or to his loſs of ſupply, the neceſſary conſequence of denying it, but immediately prepared to diſſolve the parliament; in order to avoid any farther importunity, on a ſubject ſo ungrateful to his ear. " What idea," ſaid he, " muſt all man- " kind entertain of my honour, ſhould I ſacrifice my " innocent friend to pecuniary conſiderations?" But allowing this friend and ſervant to have been more innocent, and even more able, than we find him, it was the king's duty, as well as his intereſt, to diſmiſs his miniſter from all public employments, at the requeſt of the repreſentative body of his ſubjects. For, as the commons very juſtly obſerved in their remonſtrance, " the relations between a ſovereign and his people do " far tranſcend, and are more prevalent and binding " than any relation of a maſter towards a ſervant; and " conſequently, to hear and ſatisfy the juſt and neceſ- " ſary deſires of his people is more honourable to a " prince, than any expreſſions of grace to a ſer- " vant [10]."

9. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. vii. 10. Id. ibid.

INSTEAD

INSTEAD of liſtening to ſuch reſpectful arguments, Charles, by perſevering in his ſupport of Buckingham, involved himſelf, in the opinion of the nation, in all his favourite's crimes, whether real or imputed. Among theſe, was a charge of having applied a plaſter to the late king's ſide, without the knowledge of his phyſicians, and which was ſuppoſed to have been the cauſe of his death; an accuſation which, if Charles had believed to be juſt, would have looſened all the ties of affection to Buckingham, and which he would have proſecuted to the utmoſt. Yet were there people wicked enough to ſuppoſe, from the king's blind attachment to the duke, that he had been privy to ſuch an atrocious crime. His adherence to this worthleſs man was indeed ſo ſtrong as to exceed all belief. When the houſe of peers, whoſe compliant behaviour ſurely entitled them to ſome influence with him, requeſted that he would let the parliament ſit a little longer, he haſtily replied, "Not a "moment longer!" and inſtantly ended the ſeſſion by a diſſolution. LETTER III. A.D. 1626.

IN this alarming criſis of his affairs, as he did not chuſe to reſign his miniſter, the only rational counſel which Charles could purſue, was immediately to conclude a peace with Spain; and, by that prudent meaſure, to render himſelf as independent as poſſible of the parliament, which ſeemed determined to take advantage of his neceſſities, in order to abridge his authority. Nothing could be more eaſy, more conſiſtent with national intereſt, or more agreeable to his own wiſh; but the violent and impetuous Buckingham, inflamed with a deſire of revenge for injuries which he himſelf had committed, and animated with a love of glory which he wanted talents to acquire, perſuaded his too facile ma-

11. Sanderſon's *Life of Charles* I.

ſter

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ſter to continue the war, though he had not been able to procure him the conſtitutional means of ſupporting it. Thoſe *new counſels*, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were therefore now to be tried, in order to ſupply his exigencies: and ſo high an idea had he conceived of kingly power, and ſo contemptible an opinion of the rights of national aſſemblies, that, if he had poſſeſſed a military force on which he could have depended, there is reaſon to believe he would at once have laid aſide all reſerve, and attempted to govern without any regard to parliamentary privileges [12]. But being deſtitute of ſuch a force, he was obliged to cover his violences under the ſanction of ancient precedents, collected from all the tyrannical reigns ſince the Norman conqueſt.

THE people, however, were too keen-ſighted not to perceive, that examples can never alter the nature of injuſtice. They therefore complained loudly of the benevolences and loans, which were extorted from them under various forms; and theſe complaints were increaſed by a commiſſion, which was openly iſſued, for compounding with popiſh recuſants, and diſpenſing, for a ſum of money, with the penal laws enacted againſt them [13]. While the nation was in this diſſatisfied humour, intelligence arrived of the defeat of the Proteſtants in Germany, by the imperial forces. A general loan from the ſubject was now exacted, equal to the four ſubſidies and three fifteenths voted laſt parliament; and many reſpectable perſons were thrown into priſon for refuſing to pay their aſſeſſments. Moſt of them patiently ſubmitted to confinement, or applied by

12. This is the opinion of Mr. Hume, who will not be ſuſpected of traducing the character of Charles.

13. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

peti-

petition to the king, who generally releaſed them. Five gentlemen alone, namely, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Evingham, and Sir Edmund Hambden, had reſolution enough to demand their releaſe, not as a favour from the prince, but as their right by the laws of their country [14]. LETTER III. A.D. 1626.

On examination it was found, that theſe gentlemen had been arbitrarily committed, at the ſpecial command alone of the king and council, without any cauſe being aſſigned for ſuch commitment. This they aſſerted was not a ſufficient ground for detaining them in cuſtody. The queſtion was brought to a ſolemn trial before the court of King's Bench; and in the courſe of the debates, it appeared inconteſtably to the nation, that our anceſtors had been ſo jealous of perſonal liberty, as to ſecure it againſt abſolute power in the prince not only by an article in the GREAT CHARTER itſelf, the ſacred baſis of the laws and conſtitution, but by ſix ſeveral ſtatutes beſides [15]. Precedents, however, were numerous of the violation of thoſe ſtatutes; ſo that the judges, obſequious to the court, refuſed to releaſe or to bail the priſoners [16]. A. D. 1627.

THE cry was now loud, that the nation was reduced to ſlavery. The liberty of the ſubject was violated, for refuſing to ſubmit to an illegal impoſition! Nor was this the only arbitrary meaſure of which the people had reaſon to complain. The troops that had returned from the fruitleſs expedition againſt Cadiz were diſperſed over the kingdom, and billetted upon private families, contrary to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, which required

14. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

15. 25 Edw. III. cap. iv. 28 Edw. III. cap. iii. 37 Edw. III. cap. xviii. 38 Edw. III. cap. ix. 42 Edw. III. cap. iii. 1 Richard II. cap. xii. 16. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

that

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that they ſhould be quartered at inns and public houſes. And all perſons of ſubſtance, who had refuſed or delayed the loan, were ſure to be loaded with a diſproportionate number of thoſe diſorderly gueſts; while people of inferior condition, who had ſhewn a refractory diſpoſition, were preſſed into the ſea or land ſervice [17]. Every one, in a word, ſeemed to feel the public grievances, and to execrate the oppreſſive ſpirit of adminiſtration, though paſſive obedience was ſtrongly recommended from the pulpit: and the crimes and outrages committed by the ſoldiers, who had never been habituated to the reſtraints of diſcipline, contributed not a little to increaſe the general diſcontent.

In the midſt of theſe alarming diſſatisfactions and increaſing difficulties, when baffled in every attempt againſt the dominions of the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria, and embroiled with his own ſubjects, what was the ſurprize of mankind to ſee Charles, as if he had not yet had enow of enemies, wantonly engage in a war againſt France! Unable to account for ſo extraordinary a meaſure, hiſtorians have generally aſcribed it to an amorous quarrel between cardinal Richelieu and the duke of Buckingham, on account of a paſſion for the queen of France, and the encouragement which the duke had received, when employed to bring over the princeſs Henrietta, which induced him to project a new embaſſy to that court, as I have formerly had occaſion to relate [18]. But however that might be, Buckingham had other reaſons for involving his maſter in a war with France.

One of the articles of impeachment againſt the duke, and that which had excited the greateſt odium, was the

17. Ruſhworth, vol. i. 18. Part I. Lett. lxxiv.

ſending

LETTER III.

ſending of ſome Engliſh ſhips to aſſiſt the French king in ſubduing his Proteſtant ſubjects, who were in arms in defence of their religious liberties. To this impolitic, as well as inhuman meaſure, Buckingham had been ſeduced by a promiſe, that, as ſoon as the Hugonots were reduced, Lewis XIII. would take an active part in the war againſt the houſe of Auſtria. But afterwards finding himſelf deceived by cardinal Richelieu, who had nothing in view but the aggrandiſement of the French monarchy, he procured a peace for the Hugonots, and became ſecurity to them for its performance. That peace, however, was not obſerved: Richelieu ſtill meditated the utter deſtruction of the Proteſtant party in France. They were deprived of many of their cautionary towns, and forts were erecting to bridle Rochelle, their moſt conſiderable bulwark [19]. The ſubjection of the Hugonots, it was readily foreſeen, would render France more formidable to England than the whole houſe of Auſtria. Beſides, if Charles and Buckingham ſhould ſupinely behold their ruin accompliſhed, ſuch a conduct would increaſe the popular diſcontents, and render the breach between the king and parliament irreparable. It was therefore reſolved, as the only means of recovering any degree of credit with the people, as well as of curbing the power of an ambitious rival, to undertake the defence of the Hugonots. A. D. 1627.

A NEGOCIATION was accordingly entered into with Soubiſe, brother to the duke of Rohan, the head of the Proteſtant party in France, who was at that time in London; and a fleet of an hundred ſail, with an army of ſeven thouſand men on board, was fitted out for the aſſiſtance of the Hugonots, under the command of the

19. See Part I. Lett. lxxiv. of this work, and the authors there cited.

duke

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duke of Buckingham, the moſt unpopular man in the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with naval or military ſervice. The fate of the expedition, as we have ſeen [20], was ſuch as might be expected from *his* management. When the fleet appeared before Rochelle, the inhabitants of that city ſhut their gates, and refuſed to admit allies, of whoſe arrival they were not appriſed. Buckingham made a deſcent on the iſle of Rhé; but took his meaſures ſo unſkilfully, that he was able to make no impreſſion on the principal fort; and the ſea was ſo negligently guarded, that a French army ſtole over in ſmall diviſions, and obliged him to re-embark, after loſing near two thirds of his land forces [21]. With the wretched remnant he returned to England, totally diſcredited both as an admiral and general, and univerſally deſpiſed and deteſted as a miniſter.

THE public grievances were now ſo great, that an inſurrection was to be apprehended. The people were not only loaded with illegal taxes, but their commerce, which had been hurt by the Spaniſh, was ruined by the French war; while the glory of the nation was tarniſhed by unſucceſsful enterprizes, and its ſafety threatened by the forces of two powerful monarchies. At ſuch a ſeaſon, Charles and Buckingham muſt have dreaded, above all things, the calling of a parliament: yet the improvidence of the miniſtry, the neceſſity of ſupply, and the danger of forcing another loan, obliged them to have recourſe to that expedient. In order to wipe off, if poſſible, the popular odium from the duke, it was repreſented as his motion; and ſtill farther to diſpoſe the commons to co-operate with the miniſter, warrants were
A. D. 1628. iſſued previous to their meeting, and ſent to all parts of the kingdom, for the releaſe of thoſe gentlemen who

20. Part I. ubi ſup. 21. Ruſhworth, vol. i. Whitlocke, p 8.

had

had been confined on account of refuſing to contribute towards the late loan. Their number amounted to ſeventy-eight, and many of them were elected members of the new parliament [22]. LETTER III. A. D. 1628.

WHEN the commons aſſembled, the court perceived that they were men of the ſame independent ſpirit with their predeceſſors, and ſo opulent, that their property was computed to ſurpaſs three times that of the houſe of peers [23]. But although enraged at the late violations of public liberty, by perſonal injuries, and by the extreme folly with which public meaſures were conducted, to the diſgrace, and even danger of the nation, they entered upon buſineſs with no leſs temper and decorum than vigour and ability. From a knowledge of the king's political opinions, as well as from his ſpeech at their meeting, in which he told them, "that if they "did not do their duty, in contributing to the neceſſi-"ties of the ſtate, he muſt uſe thoſe *other means*, which "God had put into his hands!" they foreſaw, that if any handle was afforded, he would immediately diſſolve the parliament, and think himſelf thenceforth juſtified in violating, in a manner ſtill more open, all the ancient forms of the conſtitution. But the decency which the popular leaders had preſcribed to themſelves, in order to avoid the calamities of civil war, which muſt have been the immediate conſequence of a new breach between the king and parliament, did not prevent them from taking into conſideration the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured; the billetting of ſoldiers, the impoſing of arbitrary taxes, the impriſoning of thoſe who refuſed to comply, and the refuſal of bail, on an Habeas Corpus, to certain gentlemen who March 17.

22. Ruſhworth, vol. i. 23. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. iii. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

demanded

PART II. A. D. 1628. demanded it. Nor did they fail to expreſs themſelves with a proper degree of indignation on theſe ſubjects.

"THIS is the great council of the kingdom," ſaid Sir Francis Seymour, who opened the debate, "and "here, if not here alone, his majeſty may ſee, as in a "true glaſs, the ſtate of the kingdom. We are called "hither by his majeſty's writs, in order to give him "faithful counſel; ſuch as may ſtand with his honour; "and this we muſt do without flattery. We are alſo "ſent hither by the people, in order to deliver their "juſt grievances; and this we muſt do without fear. "Let us not, like Cambyſes' judges, who, when que- "ſtioned by their prince concerning ſome illegal mea- "ſures, replied, *though there is a written law, the Per- "ſian kings may do what they liſt!* This was baſe flat- "tery, fitter for our reproof than imitation; and as "fear, ſo flattery taketh away the judgement. For my "part, I ſhall ſhun both; and ſpeak my mind with as "much duty as any man to his majeſty, without neg- "lecting the public. But how can we expreſs our af- "fections, while we retain our fears; or ſpeak of giv- "ing, till we know whether we have any thing left to "give? For if his majeſty may be perſuaded to take "what he will, what occaſion have we to give? That "this hath been done, appears by the billetting of ſol- "diers, a thing nowiſe advantageous to the king's ſer- "vice, and a burden to the commonwealth: by the "impriſonment of gentlemen for refuſing the loan; "yet who, if they had done the contrary from fear, "had been as blameable as the projectors of that op- "preſſive meaſure. And to countenance theſe proceed- "ings, hath it not been preached, or rather prated, in "the pulpit, that all we have is the king's by divine "right?"

"I HAVE

LETTER III.

A. D. 1628.

"I HAVE read," ſaid Sir Robert Philips, "of a cuſtom among the old Romans, that once every year "they held a ſolemn feſtival, during which their ſlaves "had liberty, without exception, to ſpeak what they "would, in order to eaſe their afflicted minds; and "that, on the concluſion of the feſtival, they returned "to their former abject condition. This may, with "ſome reſemblance, and diſtinction, well ſet forth our "preſent ſtate. After the revolution of ſome time, "and the grievous ſuffrance of many violent oppreſ-"ſions, we have now, as thoſe ſlaves had, a day of li-"berty of ſpeech; but we ſhall not, I truſt, be here-"after ſlaves, for we are BORN FREE! Yet what ille-"gal burdens our eſtates and perſons have groaned un-"der, my heart yearns to think, my tongue faulters to "utter.

"THE grievances by which we are oppreſſed," continued he, "I draw under two heads; acts of power "againſt law, and the judgments of lawyers againſt "our liberty." He then mentioned three illegal judgments paſſed within his memory; that by which the Scots born after the acceſſion of James I. were admitted to all the privileges of Engliſh ſubjects[24]; that by which the new impoſitions had been warranted; and that by which arbitrary impriſonments were authoriſed. After this enumeration, he thus proceeded:

"I CAN live, although another, who has no right, be "put to live along with me: nay, I can live, though "burdened with impoſitions beyond what at preſent I "bear; but to have my liberty, which is the ſoul of

24. He pays the Scots a handſome compliment, at the ſame time that he blames the act:—"a nation," ſays he, "which I heartily love "for their ſingular *good zeal* in our religion, and their *free ſpirit* to "preſerve liberty far beyond any of us." *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. vii.

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" my life, taken from me by power; to have my per-
" ſon pent up in a gaol, without remedy by law, and
" to be ſo adjudged—O improvident anceſtors! O un-
" wiſe forefathers! to be ſo curious in providing for the
" quiet poſſeſſion of our lands, and the liberties of par-
" liament, and at the ſame time ſo negligent of our
" perſonal liberty; to let us lie in priſon, and that dur-
" ing pleaſure, without remedy or redreſs! If this be
" law, why do we talk of liberties? why trouble our-
" ſelves with diſputes about a conſtitution, franchiſes,
" property in goods, and the like? What may any man
" call his own, if not the liberty of his perſon?

" I AM weary," added he, " of treading theſe ways;
" and therefore conclude to have a ſelect committee, in
" order to frame a petition to his majeſty for redreſs of
" our grievances[25]." The ſame ſubject was purſued by Sir Thomas Wentworth, who exclaimed, " We muſt
" vindicate!—What? New things?—No: our ancient,
" legal, and vital liberties, by reinforcing the laws en-
" acted by our anceſtors! by ſetting ſuch a ſtamp upon
" them, that no licentious ſpirit ſhall dare henceforth
" to invade them[26]."

THE commons accordingly proceeded to frame a PETITION OF RIGHT, as they choſe to call it; indicating by this name, that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient conſtitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquiſition of new liberties. And Charles, finding his threats had neither awed them into ſubmiſſion, nor provoked them to indecent freedom of ſpeech, thought fit to ſend them a conciliating meſſage; intimating that he eſteemed the grievances of the houſe his own, and ſtood not on precedence in

25. Ruſhworth, vol. i. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. vii. 26. Id. ibid.

point

point of honour. He therefore deſired, that the ſame committee, which was appointed for the redreſs of grievances, might alſo undertake the buſineſs of ſupply. Pleaſed with this conceſſion, the commons voted him five ſubſidies; with which, though much inferior to his wants, he was well ſatisfied, and declared with tears of affection in his eyes, that, "he liked parliaments at "firſt, though lately, he knew not how, he had got a "diſtaſte of them, but was now where he was before: "he loved them, and ſhould rejoice to meet his people "again [27]." LETTER III. A. D. 1628

When Charles made this declaration, he was not fully acquainted with the extent of the Petition of Right; and therefore afterwards attempted, by various means, to get it moderated, as well as to evade giving his aſſent to it in the uſual manner. But as it was intimately connected with the vote of ſupply, which was altogether conditional, the king was at laſt obliged to give his ſolemn ſanction to the bill. The delays, however, which he had interpoſed, and the ſeeming reluctance he diſcovered to ratify the rights of his people, deprived the extorted aſſent of all claim to merit in the eyes of the commons. They juſtly conſidered it as the effect of neceſſity, not complaiſance, and became even more ſuſpicious of the king's deſigns againſt the conſtitution. In conſequence of this mode of thinking, they proceeded to require the redreſs of a number of inferior grievances, not mentioned in their petition; which provided only againſt forced loans, benevolences, taxes without conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonment, billetting ſoldiers, and martial law. And they took into conſideration the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had not yet been granted by parliament. To levy this duty with-

27. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. vii.

PART II. A. D. 1628.

out their conſent, they affirmed was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right, in which thoſe liberties were ſo lately confirmed [28]. Alarmed at ſuch an unexpected attack upon his prerogative, Charles came ſuddenly to the parliament, and ended the ſeſſion by a prorogation, in order to prevent the preſenting of a remonſtrance, which the houſe had prepared for his conſideration [29].

28. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

29. *Journ.* 26 June, 1628. Nothing tends more to excuſe, if not to juſtify the extreme rigour of the commons againſt Charles, than his open encouragement of ſuch principles as are altogether incompatible with a limited government. One Manwaring had preached a ſermon, which the commons found upon inquiry, to be printed by ſpecial command of the king; and this ſermon, when examined, was obſerved to contain doctrines ſubverſive of all civil liberty. It taught that, although property was commonly lodged in the ſubject, yet all property was transferred to the ſovereign, whenever any exigency required ſupply; that the conſent of parliament was not neceſſary for the impoſition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, how irregular ſoever, which the prince ſhould make upon his people. (Ruſhworth, vol. i. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. viii.) For theſe doctrines the commons impeached Manwaring; and the ſentence pronounced againſt him by the peers was, That he ſhou'd be impriſoned during the pleaſure of the houſe, be fined a thouſand pounds to the king, make ſubmiſſion and acknowledgement for his offence, be ſuſpended during three years, be incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical dignity or ſecular office, and that his book ſhould be called in and burnt. (*Id. ibid.*) But no ſooner was the ſeſſion ended than this man, ſo juſtly obnoxious to both houſes of parliament, and to the whole nation, received a pardon; was promoted to a living of conſiderable value, and raiſed, ſome years after, to the ſee of St. Aſaph. (Ruſhworth, vol. i.) Nor were Charles's arbitrary principles, like his father's, merely ſpeculative. Among other grievances, which ſeemed to require redreſs, the commons applied for cancelling a commiſſion, granted to the principal officers of the crown, by which they were empowered to meet, and to concert among themſelves the methods of levying money by impoſitions, or otherwiſe; and, "where *form* and *circumſtance*," as expreſſed in the commiſſion, "muſt be diſpenſed with rather than the *ſubſtance* be "loſt or hazarded." (*Parl. Hiſt.* vol. viii. Ruſhworth, vol. i.) This, in a word, was a ſcheme for finding expedients, which might raiſe the prerogative to the greateſt height, and render the parliament wholly unneceſſary.

IN

LETTER II. A. D. 1628.

In hopes of conciliating the affections of his ſubjects, by making a popular uſe of the ſupply which they had granted him, as well as recovering the reputation of his arms, Charles turned his eyes, during the receſs of parliament, toward the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in France. Rochelle was now cloſely beſieged by land, and a mole was erecting to cut off all communication with it by ſea. To the relief of that place the earl of Denbigh was diſpatched, with ten ſhips of the line, and ſixty tranſports and victuallers; but by an unaccountable complication of cowardice and incapacity, if not treachery, he returned without ſo much as affording the beſieged a ſupply of proviſions. In order to wipe off this diſgrace, the duke of Buckingham, whom we have already ſeen make ſo contemptible a figure as a commander, repaired to Portſmouth, where he had prepared a conſiderable fleet and army; reſolved once more to diſplay his proweſs on the coaſt of France, and defeat the ambitious deſigns of Richelieu, his competitor in love, in politics, and even in war [30].

But this enterprize was obſtructed, and the relief of Rochelle prevented, by one ſtroke of a deſperate enthuſiaſt, named Felton, who had ſerved under Buckingham, in the ſtation of a lieutenant, on his former expedition. Diſguſted at being refuſed a company, on the death of his captain, who was killed in the retreat from the iſle of Rhé, Felton had thrown up his commiſſion, and retired from the army. While private reſentment was boiling in his breaſt, he met with the remonſtrance of the commons; in which the man he hated was repreſented as the cauſe of all the grievances under which the nation groaned, but more eſpecially of thoſe relating to

30. See Part I. Lett. lxxiv. of this work, and the authors there cited.

PART II. A. D. 1728

religion. Naturally vindictive, gloomy, and enthuſiaſtical, he was led to ſuppoſe, that he ſhould do an acceptable ſervice to Heaven, at the ſame time that he gratified the impulſe of his own envenomed heart, if he ſhould diſpatch this enemy of God and his country. Full of his purpoſe, he came to Portſmouth at the ſame time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of perpetrating the bloody deed.

SUCH an occaſion ſoon offered. While Buckingham was engaged in converſation with Soubiſe, and other French gentlemen, relative to the ſtate of Rochelle, a difference of ſentiment aroſe, which produced from the foreigners ſome violent geſticulations, and vehement exertions of voice, though nothing that could be ſeriouſly conſidered as an inſult. Scarce was this converſation ended, when the duke, on turning round to ſpeak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, was ſtabbed in the breaſt with a knife. "The villain has killed "me!"—cried he, and pulling out the knife, expired without uttering another word. Nobody had ſeen the ſtab given; but every one concluded that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, the violence of whoſe voice and geſtures had been remarked, while their words were not underſtood, by the by-ſtanders. And in the firſt tranſports of revengeful rage, they would inſtantly have been put to death by the duke's attendants, if ſome men of temper and judgement had not happily interpoſed, though by no means convinced of their innocence.

MEANTIME a hat was found among the crowd, in the inſide of which was ſewed a paper containing part of the late remonſtrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom; and, under that, a ſhort prayer or ejaculation. It was immediately concluded, that the hat

hat belonged to the aſſaſſin, but who he might be nobody could conjecture, as the writing did not diſcover his name; and every one conjectured that he had already fled far enough not to be found without a hat, the only circumſtance that could lead to a diſcovery. In the midſt of this anxious ſolicitation to apprehend the ſuppoſed fugitive, a man without a hat was ſeen walking very compoſedly by the door near which the murder had been committed. "Here," exclaimed one of the company, "is "the fellow who killed the duke!" and on hearing a general cry, "Where is he? where is he?" Felton firmly anſwered, "Here I am!"—He chearfully expoſed his breaſt to the drawn ſwords of the duke's officers; being deſirous of falling a ſacrifice to their fury, in order to avoid a public execution. And he perſiſted to the laſt in denying that he had any accomplice [31].

THE king received the news of Buckingham's death with ſo little emotion, that his courtiers concluded he was ſecretly not diſpleaſed to get rid of a miniſter ſo generally odious to the nation. But this ſeeming indifference, as was afterwards diſcovered, proceeded only from the gravity and compoſure of Charles's mind; he being attached as much as ever to that worthleſs favourite, for whoſe friends, during his whole life, he retained an affection, and a prejudice againſt his enemies. He even urged that Felton ſhould be put to the torture, in order to extort a confeſſion of his ſuppoſed accomplices; and was much chagrined, when the judges declared the practice to be unlawful, as well as the gratification of his requeſt, that the criminal's right hand might be cut off before the execution of the ſentence of death [32].

31. Clarendon, vol. i. 32. Ruſhworth, vol. i. Whitlock, p. 11.

PART II. A.D. 1628.

BUT Charles had public cares enow to divert his mind from private griefs. The projected mole being finiſhed, Rochelle was now cloſely blockaded on all ſides; yet the inhabitants, though preſſed with the utmoſt rigours of famine, ſtill refuſed to ſubmit, in hopes of ſuccour from England. On the death of Buckingham, the command of the fleet and army deſtined for their relief, was given to the earl of Lindſey; who, on his arrival before Rochelle, made ſome attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour. But that ſtupendous monument of Richelieu's genius was now fortified in ſuch a manner as to render the deſign impracticable; and the wretched inhabitants, ſeeing all proſpect of aſſiſtance cut off, were obliged to ſurrender, in view of the Engliſh fleet[33].

LETTER IV.

ENGLAND *and* SCOTLAND, *from the Aſſaſſination of* BUCKINGHAM *to the Execution of the Earl of* STRAFFORD, *in* 1641.

LETTER IV. A. D. 1629. Jan. 20.

THE failure of the expedition for the relief of Rochelle, and the ruin of the Proteſtant cauſe in France, the immediate conſequence of it, contributed much to increaſe the diſcontents of the Engliſh nation, and to diminiſh the authority of Charles I. On the meeting of parliament, the commons complained of many grievances, eſpecially in regard to religion; and in order to obtain a redreſs of theſe, they reſumed their claim to the right of granting tonnage and poundage,

33. Ruſhworth, vol. i.

This

This duty, in more ancient times, had commonly been a temporary grant of the parliament; but ſince the time of Henry V. it had been conferred on every king during life. Each prince had claimed it from the moment of his acceſſion, and it had been uſually voted by the firſt parliament of each reign. Charles, during the ſhort interval which paſſed between his acceſſion and firſt parliament, had followed the example of his predeceſſors. Nor was any fault found with him for ſo doing. But the commons, when aſſembled, inſtead of granting this duty during the king's life, voted it only for a year[1]; a circumſtance which proves beyond controverſy, that they had ſeriouſly formed a plan of reducing the king to a ſtate of dependence. The peers, who perceived the purpoſe of the lower houſe, and ſaw that the duty of poundage was now become more neceſſary than ever to ſupply the growing neceſſities of the crown, rejected the bill. The parliament was ſoon after diſſolved, without any other ſteps being taken in the buſineſs, by either party; and Charles continued to levy the duty, and the people to pay it in conformity with ancient uſage. A.D. 1629.

THE ſubject, however, was ſo fully agitated by the ſucceeding parliament, that every one began to queſtion the legality of levying tonnage and poundage, without the conſent of the repreſentatives of the people. Charles, not yet ſufficiently tamed to compliance, boldly aſſerted his prerogative; and the commons, engaged in procuring redreſs of more pernicious grievances, had little leiſure to attend to the infringement of ſo diſputable a privilege. But no ſooner had they obtained the king's aſſent to the Petition of Right, which afforded a remedy

1. *Journ.* 5 July, 1625.

againſt

PART II. A. D. 1629.

againſt the renewal of their moſt weighty grievances, than they took this matter into ſerious conſideration. The king had obſtructed their proceedings, by diſſolving the parliament; but being now again aſſembled, they ſhewed their intention of extorting from the crown very large conceſſions, in return for the duty on tonnage and poundage.

CHARLES, who had foreſeen theſe pretenſions, took care very early to inform the parliament, "That he had "not taken the duties of tonnage and poundage as per- "taining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever "was, and ſtill is his meaning to enjoy them as a gift "of his people; that he pretended not to juſtify him- "ſelf for what he had hitherto levied, by any right "which he aſſumed, but only by the neceſſity of the "caſe [2]." This conceſſion, as a learned hiſtorian remarks, might have ſatisfied the commons, had they been influenced by no other motive, but that of aſcertaining their own powers and privileges. But they had higher views; and inſiſted, as an indiſpenſable preliminary, that the king ſhould, for a time, entirely deſiſt from levying the duties in queſtion, after which *they* would take into conſideration the propriety of reſtoring ſuch revenue to the crown.

THE proud ſpirit of Charles could not ſubmit to a rigour that had never been exerciſed againſt any of his predeceſſors. Beſides, he was afraid that the commons might renew their former project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reduce him to perpetual dependence. He did not, however, immediately break with them on their delay of granting him the conteſted

2. Ruſhworth, vol. i. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. viii.

duties;

duties; but when, inſtead of liſtening to his earneſt ſolicitations for ſupply, they proceeded to carry their ſcrutiny into his management of religion, his indignation was rouſed, and he diſſolved the parliament, with a determined reſolution never to call another, unleſs he ſhould ſee indications of a more compliant diſpoſition in the nation [3].

THE commons, on this occaſion, behaved with great boldneſs. As ſoon as they had the firſt intimation of the king's deſign from the ſpeaker, who immediately left the chair, they puſhed him back into it; and two members held him there, until a ſhort remonſtrance was framed, and paſſed by acclamation rather than by vote.

3. It is not at all ſurpriſing, that Charles ſhould be enraged at this attempt of the commons to encroach on his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, or that they ſhould be deſirous of abridging it, as it was almoſt the only dangerous prerogative of the crown againſt which the Petition of Right had not planted a barrier. When the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction over England was wreſted from the ſee of Rome, the people had readily ſubmitted to a juriſdiction no leſs arbitrary in the prince. Thus the king obtained a large addition of prerogative, being veſted with the moſt abſolute power in all affairs relative to the government of the church, and the conſcience of the ſubject.

The high-commiſſion court, or ſupreme eccleſiaſtical tribunal, was immediately under the direction of the crown. A conformity of religion was demanded over the whole kingdom; and every refuſal of the eſtabliſhed ceremonies, was liable to be chaſtiſed by this court with deprivation, fines, confiſcation, and impriſonment. Nor were the judges of the high-commiſſion court obliged to proceed by legal information: rumour and ſuſpicion were ſufficient grounds. They were veſted with *inquiſitorial* powers, which were often exerciſed with unfeeling rigour, even during the reign of Elizabeth. Greater liberty, in eccleſiaſtical matters, was both demanded and allowed during the reign of James; but Charles, whoſe religion had a ſtrong tincture of ſuperſtition in it, required a rigid conformity to the ancient ceremonies. Hence the ſtruggle which the commons had hitherto maintained againſt the eccleſiaſtical authority of Charles, and the effort they made this ſeſſion, to ſhew, that it muſt be ſubordinate to the power that created it, and the abuſe of it liable to be corrected, and farther limited by the reſolutions of parliament. Sanderſon's *Life of Charles I.* Heylin's *Life of Laud.*

In

PART II. A.D. 1629.

In that remonſtrance all who ſhould ſeek to extend, or introduce, popery or Arminianiſm, (lately imported from Holland, where we have formerly had occaſion to mention its riſe [4]) were declared enemies to the commonwealth. All who ſhould adviſe the levying of tonnage and poundage, without conſent of parliament, were brought under the ſame deſcription; and every merchant who ſhould voluntarily pay theſe duties, not being granted by parliament, was to be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to his country [5].

THE diſcontents of the nation now roſe higher than ever, on account of this violent breach between the king and parliament: and Charles's ſubſequent proceedings were ill calculated to appeaſe them. He ordered thoſe popular leaders, who had been moſt active in the late tumult in the houſe of commons, to be taken into cuſtody. Some of them were fined, and condemned to find ſureties for their good behaviour. But theſe ſeverities ſerved only to ſhew more conſpicuouſly the king's diſregard of the privileges of parliament, and to acquire

4. Part I. Lett. lxxiv. The difference between the Arminian doctrines and thoſe of the eſtabliſhed religion related chiefly to the tenets of predeſtination and abſolute decrees, which had been every where embraced by the firſt reformers, and were ſtill maintained in all their rigour by the Puritans. The Arminians, by aſſerting the freedom of the human will, and diffuſing other rational opinions, had rendered themſelves obnoxious to theſe violent enthuſiaſts. Their number in England was yet ſmall; but, by the indulgence of James and Charles, ſome of that ſect had obtained the higheſt preferments in the church. Laud, Neil, Montague, and other biſhops, the chief ſupporters of epiſcopal government, were all ſuppoſed to be tainted with Arminianiſm. The ſame men and their diſciples, in return for the favour ſhewn them by the court, were the ſtrenuous preachers of paſſive obedience, and an unconditional ſubmiſſion to princes. Hence the rage of the commons againſt a ſect, whoſe theological tenets contain nothing inimical to civil liberty.

5. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. viii.

a great

a great ſtock of popularity to the ſufferers, who unanimouſly refuſed to find the ſureties demanded, or even to expreſs their ſorrow for having offended their ſovereign [6]; ſo deſirous were they to continue their meritorious diſtreſs! LETTER IV. A. D. 1629.

In the midſt of ſo many domeſtic difficulties, and utterly deſtitute of money, it was impoſſible for any prince to conduct with vigour the operations of war. Senſible of this, Charles ſubmitted to neceſſity, and concluded a peace with France and Spain. The ſituation of his affairs did not entitle him to demand from Lewis any conditions for the Hugonots, nor from Philip any ſtipulation in favour of the elector Palatine; yet he obtained from the latter a promiſe of his good offices toward the reſtoration of that unfortunate prince [7]. Thus was loſt, through her internal diſſenſions, the happieſt opportunity that England ever enjoyed, of humbling the houſe of Bourbon by means of its Proteſtant ſubjects, or of diſmembering the Spaniſh monarchy by the aſſiſtance of France, and of acquiring a permanent ſuperiority over both. A. D. 1630.

A CAUTIOUS neutrality was henceforth the ſtudy of Charles, who had neither leiſure nor inclination to intereſt himſelf farther in foreign affairs: happy in relinquiſhing every ambitious project, had he been able to recover the affections of his people, and the confidence of his parliament! But unfortunately, though poſſeſſed of many amiable and reſpectable qualities, both as a king and as a man [8], and though he now adopted more moderate

6. Whitlocke, p. 13. Ruſhworth, vol. i. Kennet, vol. iii.

7. Ruſhworth, vol. ii.

8. He was an affectionate huſband, an indulgent father, a gentle maſter, and a firm friend. His manner and addreſs, though perhaps rather

PART II. moderate counſels than during the adminiſtration of Buckingham, he was never able to attain theſe deſire-
A. D. 1630. able ends: a degree of jealous diſtruſt remained. The cauſes and the conſequences of this want of confidence it muſt now be our buſineſs to trace.

THE high idea that Charles entertained of his own authority, not only made him incapable of yielding to that bold ſpirit of liberty, which had diffuſed itſelf amongſt his ſubjects, but to continue an invaſion on their conſtitutional rights, whilſt he thought himſelf only engaged in the defence of his own. He conſidered every petition of the commons as an attempt to encroach on his prerogative; and, even when he granted their requeſts, he diſguſted them by his ungracious reluctance: he complied without obliging. His conceſſions were not received as marks of royal kindneſs; as indications of juſtice or generoſity, but as ſo many ſacrifices to neceſſity. The repreſentatives of the people ſaw themſelves, when aſſembled, regarded merely in the light of tax-layers; and, therefore, reſolved to make uſe of this power of with-holding ſupplies, or adminiſtering to the neceſſities of the crown, in order to convince the king of their political conſequence, as well as to obtain a ratification of their ancient rights. The royal authority was likewiſe too high, in eccleſiaſtical matters, for a limited government, being altogether abſolute: the parliament had diſcovered an inclination to reſtrain it: the king had reſented the affront by a diſſolution; and thus was produced an incurable jealouſy between the parties.

rather too ſtately, correſponded well with his natural gravity and reſerve. He was not deficient in political knowledge: he poſſeſſed great moderation of temper: his taſte in all the fine arts was excellent, and his learning and literary talents were much beyond what are common to princes. *Sanderſon. Clarendon.*

OTHER

OTHER cauſes conſpired to increaſe the jealouſy of the nation in regard to religion. Charles, ever ſtrongly attached to his queen, had favoured her with his whole friendſhip and confidence, after the death of Buckingham. Her ſenſe and ſpirit entitled her to ſhare his counſels, while her beauty juſtified his exceſſive fondneſs; but, as ſhe was rather of a haſty temper, ſhe ſometimes precipitated him into raſh meaſures; and her religion, to which ſhe was much devoted, induced her to procure ſuch indulgences for the Catholics as gave general diſſatisfaction, and increaſed the odium againſt the court. Nor was this all. Laud, biſhop of London, had acquired great influence over the king, and directed him in all eccleſiaſtical, and even in many civil affairs. Though a man of learning and virtue, he was a ſuperſtitious bigot, zealouſly ſet on the exaltation of the prieſthood, and on impoſing on the obſtinate Puritans, by the moſt rigorous meaſures, new ceremonies and obſervances, unknown to the church of England; and that too at a time when the ancient ceremonies, to which men had been accuſtomed, and which had been hallowed by the practice of the firſt reformers, could with difficulty be retained in divine ſervice. Yet this man, who, in the proſecution of his holy enterprize, overlooked all human conſiderations, and the heat and indiſcretion of whoſe temper made him neglect the plaineſt dictates of prudence, was raiſed by Charles to the ſee of Canterbury, and inveſted with uncontrouled authority over the conſciences of the people. A. D. 1630.

NOT only ſuch of the clergy as neglected to obſerve every ſuperſtitious ceremony enjoined by Laud and his brethren were ſuſpended, and deprived of their benefices by the high-commiſſion court; oaths were even impoſed on the church-wardens, binding them to inform againſt any one who acted contrary to the eccleſiaſtical canons;

PART II. A. D. 1630.

and all who did not conform to the new mode of worſhip, were treated with the utmoſt rigour. The religion which the archbiſhop wanted to eſtabliſh differed very little from that of the church of Rome. The Puritans therefore regarded him as the forerunner of Antichriſt [9].

NOR were the Puritans ſingular in this opinion. A court lady, daughter of the earl of Devonſhire, having turned catholic, was aſked by Laud her reaſon for changing her religion: "It is chiefly," anſwered ſhe, "becauſe I hate to *travel* in a *crowd*." The meaning of theſe words being demanded, ſhe replied, "I perceive your grace and many others are making haſte to "Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being "joſtled, I have gone before you." In a word, Laud's chief objection to popery ſeems to have been the ſupremacy of the Holy See, to which he did not chuſe to ſubject his metropolitan power. For although he himſelf tells us, "That," when offered a cardinal's hat by the pope, "ſomething dwelt within him, which would "not ſuffer his compliance, till Rome was other than "it is," the genius of his religion appears to have been the ſame with the Romiſh. The ſame profound reſpect was exacted by him to the ſacerdotal character: the ſame ſubmiſſion was required to the creeds and decrees of ſynods and councils; the ſame pomp and ceremony was affected in worſhip; and the ſame ſuperſtitious reſpect to days, poſtures, meats, and veſtments [10].

As a ſpecimen of the new ceremonies, to which Laud ſacrificed the peace of the kingdom, it will be ſufficient to relate thoſe he employed in the conſecration of St. Catharine's church. This church had been rebuilt by

9. Ruſhworth, vol. ii.

10. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vi.

the

the pariſhioners, and profanely made uſe of, for ſome time, without the ceremony of a new conſecration; a circumſtance which coming to the ſuperſtitious prelate's ears, while biſhop of London, filled him with horror, and made him ſuſpend it from all divine ſervice, until he had performed that holy office. On his approach to the weſt door of the church, a loud voice cried, "Open! "open! ye everlaſting doors, that the king of glory "may enter in." The doors of the church inſtantly flew open; the biſhop entered; and falling on his knees, with his eyes lifted up, and his arms expanded, he exclaimed in a ſolemn tone, "This place is holy! the "ground is holy! in the name of the Father, Son, and "Holy Ghoſt, I pronounce it holy!" Then going to the chancel, he ſeveral times took up ſome duſt from the floor, and threw it in the air. When he approached the communion-table, he bowed frequently toward it. On returning, he and his attendants went round the church in a kind of proceſſion, repeating the hundredth Pſalm; and then ſaid a form of prayer, concluding with theſe words: "We conſecrate this church, "and ſeparate it unto THEE, as holy ground, not to "be profaned any more to common uſes." The biſhop ſtanding near the communion-table, now denounced imprecations on all who ſhould pollute that holy place, by muſters of ſoldiers, keeping in it profane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it. On the concluſion of every curſe, he bowed toward the eaſt, and cried, "Let all the people ſay Amen!" When the imprecations were ended, he poured out bleſſings on all who had any way contributed to the framing and building that ſacred and beautiful edifice, and on thoſe who had given, or ſhould hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utenſils. On the concluſion of every benediction, he alſo bowed toward the eaſt, and cried, "Let all the people ſay Amen!"

LETTER IV.

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THESE ceremonies were followed by a ſermon; after which the biſhop thus conſecrated, and adminiſtered the ſacrament. As he approached the communion-table, he made many low reverences; and coming up to that ſide of the table where the bread and wine were placed, he bowed ſeven times. After reading many prayers, he approached the ſacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread, he ſuddenly let fall the napkin, fell back a ſtep or two, and bowed three ſeveral times toward the bread; then drew near again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before. He next laid hold of the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine; then let it go, fell back, and bowed thrice toward it. He approached again, and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup; but on ſeeing the wine, he let fall the cover, and bowed as before. He then received the ſacrament, and adminiſtered it to others; and the fabric being now ſuppoſed ſufficiently holy, the ſolemnity of the conſecration was concluded with many formal prayers [11]. The ſame pious farce was repeated at the conſecration of St. Giles's in the Fields, and on other occaſions of a like nature, notwithſtanding the ſcandal occaſioned by the firſt exhibition [12]. Oppoſition and general odium ſerved only to increaſe the biſhop's zeal for ſuch ſuperſtitious mummeries, which were openly countenanced by the court.

IN return for ſo much indulgence to the church, Laud and his followers took care, on every occaſion, to magnify the royal authority, and made no ſcruple to treat with contempt all pretenſions to a free or limited

11. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vi. 12. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 212, et ſeq.

govern-

government. By theſe flatteries, and his original pre- LETTER IV.
poſſeſſions, Charles was led to conſider himſelf as the A. D. 1630.
ſupreme magiſtrate to whom Heaven, by his birth-right, had committed the care of his people; whoſe duty it was to provide for their ſecurity and happineſs, both ſpiritual and temporal, and who was veſted with ample diſcretionary powers for that purpoſe. If the obſervance of ancient laws and cuſtoms was conſiſtent with the preſent convenience of government, he judged it prudent to follow that rule, as the eaſieſt, ſafeſt, and what would procure the moſt prompt and willing obedience; but when a change of circumſtances, eſpecially if derived from the obſtinacy of the people, ſeemed to require a new plan of adminiſtration, national privileges he thought muſt yield to ſupreme power, and that no order of men in the ſtate could be warranted in oppoſing the will of the ſovereign, when directed to the public good [13].

CHARLES, however, did not reſt the ſupport of that abſolute dominion, which he thought he had a right to eſtabliſh over the ſouls and bodies of his ſubjects, merely on the declamations of churchmen, or the intrigues of courtiers. He had recourſe to that policy, which has often been ſo ſucceſsfully purſued in later times, of employing the honours and offices of the crown, in order to draw off the parliamentary leaders from oppoſition, and to engage them in defence of that authority, which they ſhare, by becoming members of adminiſtration. Nor was the king diſappointed in this firſt attempt to divide the force of the country-party. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a popular member of great abilities, whom he created earl of Strafford, became a firm pillar to the throne. Other parliamentary leaders were

13. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vi.

PART II. A. D. 1630. also drawn over to the court. Sir Dudley Diggs was created master of the rolls; Mr. Noy, attorney-general; and Mr. Littelton, solicitor-general [14].

But the effect of this new political manœuvre was by no means such as might have been expected from it, or what has been common from like measures, in our days; a temporary reconciliation between the parties. The views of the king and parliament were now so repugnant to each other, that the leaders whom he had gained, though men of eminent talents and irreproachable character, lost all credit with their party from the moment of their defection. They were even pursued as traitors, with implacable hatred and resentment; and the king was so far from acquiring popularity by employing them, that he lost still farther, by that expedient, the confidence of the nation. It was considered as an insidious attempt to turn the emoluments of the state against itself, and the honours of the crown against the constitution; to unnerve, by corruption, the arm of liberty; and by means of apostate patriots, the most terrible instruments of tyranny, to complete the despotism of the prince and the slavery of the people.

Nor were these apprehensions altogether without foundation. As Charles had formed a resolution no more to assemble the commons, and even published a proclamation to that purpose, he was obliged to raise money for the support of government, either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations of the rights of the subject. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied, according to the former arbitrary impositions: new imposts were even laid on several kinds of merchandize; and the officers of the customs received orders from the

14. Whitlock, p. 13.

council to enter into any houſe, warehouſe, or cellar, to ſearch any trunk or cheſt, and break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of ſuch duties [15]. The oppreſſive method of raiſing money by monopolies was revived; the odious expedient of compounding with popiſh recuſants became a regular part of the revenue; ſeveral arbitrary taxes were impoſed; and, in order to facilitate theſe exactions, and repreſs the riſing ſpirit of liberty throughout the kingdom, many ſevere ſentences were paſſed in the Star-chamber and High-commiſſion courts. Some perſons were fined, ſome impriſoned; and ſuch as ventured to arraign the meaſures of the court, were condemned to ſtand in the pillory [16]. A.D. 1630.

SEVEN years had Charles ſupported his government by arbitrary impoſitions, levied by means no leſs arbitrary, before he met with any vigorous oppoſition. At length John Hambden, a private gentleman, had the courage to ſet the crown at defiance, and make a bold ſtand in defence of the laws and the liberties of his country. Among other taxes, that of ſhip-money had been revived, and levied on the whole kingdom. This tax, intended for the ſupport of the royal navy, and in itſelf moderate and equitable, was only exceptionable by being impoſed without the conſent of parliament; and, in order to diſcourage all oppoſition on that account, the king had propoſed, as a queſtion, to the judges, "Whether, in caſe of *neceſſity*, he might "not, for the defence of the kingdom, impoſe ſuch a "tax? and whether he was not the *ſole judge* of that "*neceſſity?*" The compliant judges anſwered in the affirmative, and the tax was generally paid. But Hambden, alike regardleſs of the opinion of the judges, and A.D. 1637.

15. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. 16. Clarendon, vol. i. Ruſhorth, vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1637. the example of others, reſolved to hazard the iſſue of a ſuit, rather than tamely ſubmit to the illegal impoſition; and although only rated at twenty ſhillings, to riſk the whole indignation of royalty [17].

THIS important cauſe was heard before all the twelve judges in the Exchequer-chamber. The pleadings laſted twelve days; and the nation regarded with the utmoſt anxiety every circumſtance of the trial. The iſſue was eaſily to be foreſeen from the former opinion of the heads of the law; but it was *not*, on that account, conſidered as leſs momentous, or expected with leſs impatience.

IN moſt national queſtions much may be ſaid on both ſides: but, on the preſent occaſion, no legal argument of any weight was adduced by the crown-lawyers, though men of profound abilities; a ſtrong preſumption that none ſuch exiſted. They only pleaded *precedent* and *neceſſity*. The precedents, when examined, were found to be by no means applicable to the caſe, and the neceſſity was denied. "England," ſaid Hambden's counſel, "enjoys a profound peace with all her "neighbours; and, what farther ſecures her tranquil- "lity, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and "bloody wars among themſelves. The very writs, "which are iſſued for the levying of ſhip-money, con- "tradict the idea of neceſſity: they aſſert only that "the ſeas are infeſted by pirates; a ſlight and tempo- "rary inconvenience, which may well wait a legal ſup- "ply from parliament. And as to the pretenſion, "that the king is the ſole judge of the neceſſity; what "is this, but to ſubject all the privileges and all the pro- "perty of the nation to his arbitrary will and plea-

17. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. Whitlock, p. 4.

"ſure?

" ſure? For the plea of *voluntary neceſſity* will warrant " any other taxation as well as that of ſhip-money. " And if ſuch maxims and practices prevail, where is " national liberty? What authority is left to the Great " Charter, that Palladium of the conſtitution? Or " what to the Petition of Right, ſo lately enacted by " the concurrence of the whole legiſlature [18]."

A. D. 1637.

THE prejudiced or proſtituted judges, notwithſtanding theſe powerful arguments, gave ſentence in favour of the crown. But Hambden obtained nevertheleſs, by his trial, the end which he had propoſed to himſelf. National queſtions were canvaſſed in every company; and the people, if not rouſed to active oppoſition, were at leaſt awakened to a ſenſe of the danger to which their liberty was expoſed. " Slaviſh principles," it was ſaid, " concurred with illegal practices; eccleſiaſtical " tyranny gave aid to civil uſurpation; iniquitous taxes " were ſupported by arbitrary puniſhments; and all the " privileges of the nation, tranſmitted through ſo many " ages, ſecured by ſo many laws, and purchaſed by " the blood of ſo many heroes and patriots, now lay " proſtrate at the foot of the throne. What though " the perſonal character of the king, amid all his miſ- " guided counſels, might merit indulgence, or even " praiſe? he was but one man; and the privileges of " the people, the inheritance of millions, were too " valuable to be ſacrificed to his prejudices and miſ- " takes [19]."

WHILE the minds of men underwent this fermentation in England, a more dangerous ſpirit made its appearance in Scotland. We have already had occaſion to trace the ſteps taken by James for introducing epiſ-

18. *State Trials*, vol. v. 19. Hume, vol. vi.

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copacy into that kingdom. The ſame policy was purſued by his ſon Charles; who, in 1633, had paid a viſit to his native country, and made a violent attempt to get his authority there acknowledged in eccleſiaſtical matters. He obtained an act of parliament veſting him with ſuch authority; but as that act was known to have been extorted by the influence and importunity of the ſovereign, contrary to the ſentiments even of thoſe who gave it their ſuffrage, it ſerved only to inflame the jealouſy, and rouſe the reſentment of the nation [20].

NOR will this oppoſition excite ſurprize, if we conſider, that the eccleſiaſtical government, in Scotland, was believed to be totally independent of the civil. Chriſt, not the king, was regarded as the head of the church; conſequently no act of parliament, nothing but the conſent of the church itſelf, under the ſuppoſed illuminations of its Inviſible Superior, could be ſufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worſhip or diſcipline. But, in direct contradiction to theſe old preſbyterian maxims, James had introduced into Scotland the court of high-commiſſion, at a time when its authority was become too grievous to be patiently borne in England; and now, by an extorted act of parliament, Charles openly diſcovered his intention of overturning the national religion, and of enforcing conformity to a new mode of worſhip, by means of this arbitrary tribunal.

THE Scots were at no loſs to diſcover the nature of the religion, which the king wanted to introduce. The juriſdiction of preſbyteries, ſynods, and other democratical courts, was already in a manner aboliſhed; and the general aſſembly itſelf had not been ſummoned for

20. Burnet, *Hiſt. Own Times*, vol. i.

two

two years back. It was evident that Charles, ambitious to complete the work ſo unwiſely begun by his father, was reſolved, in conjunction with the biſhops, to govern the church of Scotland by the ſame abſolute authority which he enjoyed in England, and to render the eccleſiaſtical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform. But the ardour of reformation was not yet ſufficiently abated, among the Scots, to admit of ſuch a change. They were ſtill under the influence of the wildeſt enthuſiaſm; and that concurring with certain political conſiderations, not only obſtructed Charles's favourite ſcheme of uniformity, but eventually ruined his authority in both kingdoms.

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THIS prince, from the natural piety, or ſuperſtition of his temper, was ſlaviſhly attached to churchmen; and, as it is natural for all men to perſuade themſelves, that their intereſt coincides with their inclination, he had laid it down as a political canon, that to increaſe the power and civil influence of the eccleſiaſtical order, was the firſt duty of his government. He conſidered the epiſcopal clergy as the moſt faithful ſervants of the crown, and the great promoters of loyalty among the people. In conſequence of this idea, ſome of the Scottiſh prelates were raiſed to the higheſt offices of the ſtate; and an attempt was made to revive the firſt inſtitution of the College of Juſtice, and to ſhare equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority, as before the Reformation[21]. Theſe innovations diſguſted the high-minded nobility, who frequently found themſelves inſulted by the upſtart biſhops, whom they conſidered in the light of intruders, at the ſame time that they had the mortification to ſee themſelves inferior in official conſequence, and leſs regarded as the

21. Guthrie's *Memoirs*.

objects

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objects of royal favour. Selfiſhneſs completed that jealouſy which ambition had begun. The Scottiſh nobility ſaw themſelves ready to be deprived of thoſe church-lands, which they had ſo largely ſhared at the Reformation, in order to exalt ſtill higher the conſequence of the clergy; and therefore took part with the people and the preſbyterian preachers, in oppoſing the king's plan of epiſcopacy, and ſpreading wide the alarm of popery [22].

MEANWHILE Charles, and his dignified eccleſiaſtics, were zealouſly employed in framing canons and a liturgy, for the uſe of a people who held both in abhorrence. The canons, which were promulgated in 1635, though received by the nation without much clamour or oppoſition, occaſioned much inward apprehenſion and diſcontent. They were indeed of a moſt arbitrary and offenſive nature, and highly grievous to a people jealous of their civil and religious liberties. They aſſerted, that the king's authority was abſolute and unlimited; and they ordained, among many other things odious to Preſbyterian ears, That the clergy ſhould not pray extempore, but by the printed form preſcribed in the liturgy; that no one ſhould officiate as ſchoolmaſter without a licence from the biſhop of the dioceſe; nor any perſon be admitted into holy orders, or allowed to perform any eccleſiaſtical function, without firſt ſubſcribing thoſe canons [23].

EVEN men of moderate principles, who could regard theſe ordinances with a degree of indifference, were filled with indignation at ſeeing a whole body of eccleſiaſtical laws eſtabliſhed without any previous conſent,

22. Burnet, *Hiſt. Own Times*, vol. i. Burnet's *Mem. of the Houſe of Hamilton.*

23. Fuller's *Church Hiſt.*

either

either of church or ſtate. They dreaded a like deſpotiſm in civil government: yet a ſeeming ſubmiſſion was paid to the king's authority, until the reading of the liturgy. It was chiefly copied from that of England, and conſequently little exceptionable in itſelf. But this ſeemingly favourable circumſtance was no recommendation to the Scots; who, proud of the purity of their worſhip, thought the Engliſh church ſtill retained a ſtrong mixture of Romiſh pollution. They therefore repreſented the new liturgy as a ſpecies of maſs, though with leſs ſhew and embroidery; and when, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh arrayed in his ſurplice, opened the book, and began the ſervice, the meaner part of the audience, but eſpecially the women, raiſed a dreadful clamour, clapping their hands and exclaiming, "A "pope! a pope! Antichriſt! ſtone him! ſtone him!" And the tumult was ſo great, that it was found impoſſible to proceed with the ſervice, until the moſt turbulent of the rioters were turned out of the church by the civil magiſtrates. The biſhop, who had attempted in vain to appeaſe them, was in danger of falling a ſacrifice to their fury, in going home [24].

A. D. 1637. July 23.

THOUGH this tumult appeared to have been conducted only by perſons of low condition, the ſenſe of the nation was well known; ſo that it was not thought adviſable to hazard a new inſult by a ſecond attempt to read the liturgy. But as the king, contrary to all the maxims of ſound policy, and even of common ſenſe, remained inflexible in his purpoſe of impoſing ſuch a mode of worſhip on his Scottiſh ſubjects, new tumults aroſe; and the people flocked from every part of the kingdom to Edinburgh, in order to oppoſe ſo obnoxious a meaſure. Men of all ranks and conditions joined in petitions

24. King's *Declaration*. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. Burnet's *Mem.*

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againſt the liturgy: the pulpits reſounded with vehement declamations againſt Antichriſt; and the populace, who had firſt oppoſed the new ſervice, was ingeniouſly compared by the preachers to Balaam's Aſs, an animal ſtupid in itſelf, but whoſe mouth the Lord had opened, to the admiration of the whole world [25]. Fanaticiſm, in a word, mingling with faction, and private intereſt with the ſpirit of liberty, produced ſymptoms of the moſt dangerous inſurrection; yet Charles, as if under the influence of a blind fatality, though fully informed of the diſorders in Scotland, obſtinately refuſed to deſiſt from his undertaking, notwithſtanding the repreſentations of his ableſt miniſters, and moſt faithful ſervants in that kingdom.

BUT what renders this obſtinacy ſtill more inexcuſable, and makes the king's conduct appear altogether inexplicable is, that, while he was endeavouring to recover ſo great a part of the property of Scotland as the church-lands, from powerful nobles, by no means willing to relinquiſh them, and was attempting to change the whole civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the kingdom, he raiſed no forces to carry his violent deſigns into execution! The Scots ſaw the weakneſs of his adminiſtration, at the ſame time that they had reaſon to complain of its rigour: and on a proclamation being iſſued, containing a pardon for all paſt offences, and exhorting them peaceably to ſubmit to the liturgy, they entered into a civil and religious convention, generally known by the name of the COVENANT, which proved an effectual barrier againſt all regal encroachments.

IN this convention were comprehended all orders of men in the ſtate, divided into different tables or claſſes;

25. King's *Declaration.*

one

one table conſiſting of nobility, another of gentry, a third of clergy, and a fourth of burgeſſes. In the hands of commiſſioners, choſen from theſe four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. The articles of their Covenant conſiſted, firſt of a renunciation of popery, formally ſigned by the late king in his youth; then followed a bond of union, by which the ſubſcribers obliged themſelves to reſiſt innovations in religion, and to defend each other againſt all violence and oppreſſion [26]. And as every thing was pretended to be done by the Covenanters for the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the advantage of their country, people of all ranks, without diſtinction of age or ſex, crowded to ſubſcribe the Covenant. Even the king's miniſters and counſellors were ſeized with the general frenzy [27].

CHARLES, who now began to apprehend the conſequences of ſuch a powerful combination, diſpatched the marquis of Hamilton into Scotland, with authority to treat with the Covenanters. He offered to ſuſpend the canons and liturgy, until they could be received in a fair and legal way; and ſo model the court of high-commiſſion, that it ſhould no longer give offence. But he required in return for theſe conceſſions, a renunciation of the Covenant. The Covenanters, who carried much higher their pretenſions, and found themſelves ſeconded by the zeal of the whole nation, replied, that "they would ſooner renounce their baptiſm than "the Covenant!" and the miniſters invited the commiſſioner to ſubſcribe it, telling him "with what "peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of all God's "people [28]."

26. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. Burnet's *Mem.* King's *Declaration.*
27. Burnet, ubi ſup.
28. King's *Declaration.* Ruſhworth, vol. ii.

HAMILTON

PART II. A. D. 1638.

HAMILTON returned to London; made another fruitleſs journey to Edinburgh, with new conceſſions: returned a ſecond time to London; and was again ſent back, with conceſſions yet more ample. Charles now conſented utterly to aboliſh the canons, the liturgy, and the court of high-commiſſion; but he would not agree to aboliſh epiſcopacy, which he thought as eſſential to the very being of a Chriſtian church, as his Scottiſh ſubjects deemed it incompatible with that ſacred inſtitution. This narrowneſs of mind, which we muſt pity rather than condemn, proved the ruin of the negociation. The king had impowered Hamilton, however, to propoſe the ſummoning of the general aſſembly of the church, and the parliament, by which every grievance might be redreſſed; an offer which was readily embraced by the Covenanters, who were well aſſured of their ſuperior influence in both.

THE firſt object that engaged the attention of the general aſſembly, where beſides a vaſt multitude of the populace, all the Scottiſh nobility and gentry of any family or intereſt were preſent, was an act for the utter abolition of epiſcopacy. The biſhops ſent a proteſt, declining the authority of the aſſembly; and the commiſſioner diſſolved it, in his majeſty's name, after declaring it illegally conſtituted. But this meaſure, though unforeſeen, was little regarded: the members continued to ſit, and to finiſh their buſineſs. All the acts of aſſembly, ſince the acceſſion of James VI. to the crown of England, were declared null and void, as being procured by the arbitrary influence of the ſovereign; and the acts of parliament, which affected eccleſiaſtical affairs, were conſidered, on the ſame account, as of no authority [29]. Thus epiſcopacy, the court of high-commiſſion, the

29. King's *Declaration*. Burnet's *Mem.* Ruſhworth, vol. ii.

canons

canons and the liturgy, were aboliſhed, and declared unlawful. Every thing, in a word, which, during a long courſe of years, James and Charles had been labouring with ſuch care and policy to rear, was thrown at once to the ground; and the Covenant, ſo obnoxious to the crown and the hierarchy, was ordered, under pain of excommunication, to be ſigned by every one [30]. A. D. 1639.

AFTER having taken theſe bold ſteps, it became neceſſary for the Scottiſh malcontents to maintain their religious opinions by military force; eſpecially as they had good reaſon to believe, that, however juſt their reſolutions might appear to themſelves, they would not be aſſented to by the king. Although they did not deſpair of ſupernatural aſſiſtance, they therefore thought it would be imprudent to ſlight the arm of fleſh. Their meaſures, dictated by vigour and ability, were indeed alike diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom and promptitude; and ſuch as might have been expected from a regularly eſtabliſhed commonwealth, rather than a tumultuous convention. The whole kingdom being in a manner engaged in the Covenant, men of talents ſoon acquired that aſcendant to which their natural ſuperiority entitled them, and which their family-intereſt or their character enabled them to maintain. The earl of Argyle, well calculated to make a figure during ſuch a turbulent period, took the lead; and the earls of Rothes, Caſſils, Montroſe, Lothian, with the lords Lindſey, Loudon, Yeſter, and Balmerino, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the cauſe. A number of Scottiſh officers, who had acquired reputation in Germany, during the religious wars, but particularly under Guſtavus Adolphus, were invited over to aſſiſt their country in her preſent neceſſity. And the chief command was entruſted to Leſley, earl of Leven, an offi-

30. King's *Declaration.*

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PART II. A.D. 1639.

cer of experience and ability. Forces were regularly enliſted and diſciplined; arms were imported from foreign countries; ſome caſtles belonging to the king were ſeized; and the whole country, except a ſmall part, where the marquis of Huntley ſtill ſupported the royal authority, was reduced under the power of the Covenanters[31].

CHARLES, whoſe affection to his native kingdom was ſtrong, but whoſe attachment to the hierarchy was yet ſtronger, haſtened his military preparations for ſubduduing the refractory ſpirit of the Scots, and re-eſtabliſhing epiſcopacy. A formidable fleet, with five thouſand troops on board, was entruſted to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to ſail for the frith of Forth, and attempt to divide the forces of the Covenanters; and an army of near twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, was levied, and put under the command of the earl of Arundel. The earl of Eſſex was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horſe. The king himſelf joined the army, and ſummoned all the peers of England to attend him. Many of them repaired to the camp, which had more the appearance of a ſplendid court than of a military armament. With part of this pompous rather than formidable force, Charles arrived at York, while Eſſex advanced and took poſſeſſion of Berwick[32].

THE army of the Covenanters was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers, however, had more experience: and the ſoldiers, though newly raiſed, and but indifferently armed, were animated by the ſtrongeſt motive that can ſtimulate men to action, zeal for the preſervation of their civil and reli-

31. May's *Hiſtory of the Parliament of England.* Burnet's *Mem.*
32. Clarendon, vol. i.

gious

gious liberties. Yet ſo prudent were their leaders, who wiſhed to avoid hoſtilities, that they immediately ſent ſubmiſſive meſſages, and craved leave to be permitted to treat with the king. It was now a very difficult matter for Charles to determine how to act. He was ſenſible that, while the force of the Covenanters remained unbroken, their ſpirits high, and their ardour unabated, no reaſonable terms could be expected from them; and ſhould he ſubmit to their pretenſions, not only prelacy muſt be ſacrificed to their fanaticiſm, but regal authority itſelf would become a mere ſhadow in Scotland. On the other hand, the conſequences of a defeat, while Scotland was in arms, and England diſſatisfied, were too dreadful to permit him to hazard a battle: the utter loſs of his authority in both kingdoms was to be feared. Beſides, had he been inclined to rely on the bravery of his Engliſh ſubjects, they diſcovered no inclination to act offenſively againſt the Scots; whoſe neceſſity of riſing they pitied, and whoſe independent ſpirit they admired. The ſympathy of civil and religious grievances had ſubdued all national animoſity in their hearts.

It ſeemed, however, eſſential for the king's ſafety, that he ſhould take a decided part; that he ſhould either confide in the valour and generoſity of the Engliſh nation, and attempt to bring the Scots under ſubmiſſion; or openly and candidly grant the Covenanters ſuch conditions as would exclude all future cauſe of complaint, and render rebellion inexcuſable. Unfortunately, in deliberating between theſe two reſolutions, Charles embraced neither; but concluded a ſudden pacification, in which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould withdraw his fleet and army; that the Scots, within eight and forty hours, ſhould diſmiſs their forces; that the forts taken by the Covenanters ſhould be reſtored, the royal authority ac-

PART II. knowledged, and the general aſſembly and parliament
A. D. 1639. ſummoned, in order to compoſe all differences [33].

THE conſequences were ſuch as might be expected from ſo injudicious a negociation. The pretenſions of the Scots agreed ſo ill with the conceſſions which the king was willing to make, that their parliament was prorogued, when proceeding to ratify ſome obnoxious acts of aſſembly; and the war was renewed, with great advantages on the ſide of the Covenanters. Charles's neceſſities had obliged him to diſband his forces, immediately after the unmeaning pacification; and, as the Engliſh nation diſcovered little inclination to engage in the quarrel, it was impoſſible to aſſemble a new army without great expence, as well as loſs of time. The more provident Covenanters, who foreſaw the probability of their being again obliged to ſupport their pretenſions by arms, were careful, in diſmiſſing their troops, to take ſuch meaſures as made it eaſy for them to collect their ſtrength. The officers had orders to be ready on the firſt ſummons, and the ſoldiers were warned not to think the nation ſecure from an Engliſh invaſion. Pious zeal made both watchful; and no ſooner was the trumpet ſounded, by their ſpiritual and temporal leaders, than all ranks of men repaired to their military ſtations, and chearfully took the field once more, in defence of their civil and religious liberties [34].

THE king, at length, got together a body of troops; but he ſoon diſcovered, that his greateſt difficulty yet remained: his revenues were inſufficient to ſupport them. How to proceed, in ſuch an emergency, was a queſtion not eaſy to be determined. After the many irregular methods of taxation, which had been tried, and

33. Ruſhworth, vol. iii. 34. Clarendon, vol. i.

the

the multiplied diſguſts thereby given to the puritanical party, as well as by the management of religion, little could be expected from an Engliſh parliament. Yet to that humiliating expedient the proud ſpirit of Charles was obliged to ſtoop, as the only means of obtaining ſupply; and after a contemptuous intermiſſion of eleven years, to ſummon the great council of the nation, and throw himſelf on the generoſity of his inſulted commons. The commons, as might have been expected, inſiſted that the redreſs of grievances ſhould be taken into conſideration before they entered on the buſineſs of ſupply. This, they affirmed, was conformable to the ancient uſage of parliament, and founded on a jealouſy inherent in the conſtitution; that the neceſſity pleaded was purely miniſterial, not national: for, if the ſame grievances, under which England laboured, had puſhed the Scots to extremities, was it incumbent on the Engliſh to forge their own chains, by impoſing chains on their neighbours? Diſguſted with theſe reaſonings, and finding his friends in the houſe outnumbered by his enemies, Charles, by the advice of archbiſhop Laud and the marquis of Hamilton, formed and executed the deſperate reſolution of diſſolving the parliament [35]. The marquis is ſuppoſed to have been ſecretly a friend to the Covenanters.

LETTER IV. A. D. 1640

THUS diſappointed of parliamentary aid, the king, in order to ſatisfy his urgent wants, was obliged to have recourſe to a method of ſupply which muſt have been very grating to a generous mind. Beſides laying a heavy hand upon the clergy, he was under the neceſſity of borrowing large ſums from his miniſters and courtiers; and ſo much was he beloved by them, that the loan greatly exceeded his expectation. They ſubſcribed

35. Clarendon, vol. i. Burnet's *Mem.*

PART II. A. D. 1640.

above three hundred thouſand pounds in a few days. By theſe means, he was enabled to march his army northward. It conſiſted of nineteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. The earl of Northumberland acted commander in chief; the earl of Strafford, as lieutenant-general; and lord Conway, as general of the horſe [36].

THE army of the Covenanters, though more numerous, was ſooner ready, and had marched to the borders of England;—in conſequence of a letter forged by lord Savile, in the name of ſix Engliſh noblemen of diſtinction, inviting the Scots to aſſiſt their neighbours in procuring a redreſs of their grievances [37]. But notwithſtanding their force, and this encouragement, they ſtill preſerved the moſt ſubmiſſive language; and entered England, as they declared, with no other view but to obtain acceſs to the king's perſon, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. They were oppoſed in their march, at Newburn upon Tyne, by a detachment of four thouſand five hundred men, under lord Conway, who ſeemed reſolute to diſpute with them the paſſage of the river. The Scots, after entreating liberty to paſs unmoleſted, attacked their opponents with great bravery; killed ſeveral of them, and chaſed the reſt from their ground [38]. In conſequence of this unexpected advantage, the whole Engliſh army was ſeized with a panic: the forces at Newcaſtle fled immediately to Durham; and not thinking themſelves ſafe even there, retreated with precipitation into Yorkſhire [39].

THE victorious Covenanters took poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle, though without offering any violence to the per-

36. Ruſhworth, vol. iii. 37. Nalſon, vol. ii. Burnet, *Hiſt.* vol. i. 38. Clarendon, vol. i. 39. This panic was chiefly occaſioned by an unexpected diſcharge of artillery. Burnet, *Hiſt.* vol. i.

ſons

ſons or property of the inhabitants. They not only preſerved the moſt exact diſcipline, but perſevered ſo far in maintaining the appearance of an amicable diſpoſition toward England, that they paid for their very proviſions; and they ſent meſſengers to the king, who was now arrived at York, to renew their proteſtations of loyalty and ſubmiſſion, and to beg forgiveneſs for the unavoidable effuſion of the blood of his Engliſh ſubjects [40]. Charles underſtood the hypocritical inſult, but his circumſtances did not permit him to reſent it. The nation was univerſally and highly diſſatisfied: the army was diſcouraged, the treaſury exhauſted, the revenue anticipated; and every expedient for ſupply, that ingenuity could ſuggeſt, had been tried to the utmoſt. In this extremity, as the leaſt of two evils, the king agreed to a treaty, in order to prevent the Scots from advancing upon him; and named ſixteen Engliſh noblemen, who met with eleven Scottiſh commiſſions at Rippon. The reſult of their deliberations was a ceſſation of arms; in conſequence of which the Scots were to be allowed, for their maintenance, eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day, during their ſtay in England [41].

It may be worthy of remark, that the earl of Strafford, who had ſucceeded Northumberland in the command of the army, and who poſſeſſed more vigour of mind than the king or any of the council, adviſed Charles to put all to the hazard of a battle, rather than ſubmit to ſuch unworthy terms as were likely to be impoſed upon him; "for, ſhould your majeſty even be defeated, nothing worſe can befall you," obſerved his lordſhip, "than what from your inactivity you will certainly feel [42]!" Theſe prophetic words ſeem to have

40. Ruſhworth, vol. iii. 41. Clarendon, vol. i. Ruſhworth, vol. iii. 42. Nalſon, vol. ii.

PART II. A. D. 1640.

been dictated by the moſt infallible of all inſpiration, that intuitive diſcernment of a penetrating genius, habituated to the contemplation of human affairs, which enables it to look into futurity.

THE cauſes of diſguſt which had, for above thirty years, been every day multiplying in England, were now arrived at their height; and Charles, in deſpair of being able to ſtem the torrent, at laſt reſolved to yield to it. He therefore, in compliance with a number of petitions, and the general wiſh of his ſubjects, again aſſembled the parliament. Many exorbitant claims, he was ſenſible, would probably be made, and muſt neceſſarily be complied with. But he little expected that great and deciſive blow, which, on the meeting of parliament, was aimed at his authority, by the commons, in the perſon of his *miniſter*, the earl of Strafford; for as ſuch that nobleman was conſidered, both on account of the credit which he poſſeſſed with the king, and of his own extenſive and vigorous capacity. Not unacquainted with the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, Strafford would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; and begged permiſſion to withdraw himſelf to his government of Ireland, being then lord-lieutenant, or at leaſt to remain at the head of the army in Yorkſhire. But the king, judging his preſence and counſels neceſſary at ſuch a criſis, aſſured him, that not a hair of his head ſhould be touched by the parliament[43]. So confident was Charles ſtill of his own authority, though ready to expire, and ſo lofty were his ideas of the majeſty of kings!

THE commons thought leſs reſpectfully of it. No ſooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted

43. Whitlocke.

attack

attack was made upon him by Mr. Pym; who, after enumerating all the grievances under which the nation laboured, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed, under the reign of a pious and virtuous king, for changing to tally the frame of government, and ſubverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "We muſt enquire," added he, "from what fountain "theſe waters of bitterneſs flow; and though doubt- "leſs many evil counſellors will be found to have con- "tributed their endeavours, yet there is one who claims "the guilty pre-eminence: HE is the earl of Strafford, "lieutenant of Ireland, and preſident of the council of "York; a man, who, in the memory of many preſent, "has ſat in this houſe, an earneſt vindicator of the laws, "and a moſt zealous aſſertor and champion for the li- "berties of the people. But it is long ſince he turned "from theſe good affections; and, according to the "cuſtom of *apoſtates*, he is become the greateſt enemy "to the liberties of his country, and the greateſt pro- "moter of tyranny, that any age hath ever pro- "duced[44]."

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THIS political apoſtacy of Strafford ſeems, indeed, to have been his chief crime with the popular leaders, and never to be expiated but with his blood. Pym was ſeconded in his charge by Sir John Hotham, Sir John Clotworthy, and others; and, after ſeveral hours ſpent in bitter invectives againſt the ſuppoſed criminal (the doors being locked to prevent a diſcovery of the concerted purpoſe), it was moved, That the earl of Strafford ſhould be accuſed of high-treaſon. The motion was received with general approbation, and the impeachment was voted without much debate. Mr. Pym was choſen to carry it up to the lords: moſt of the members

44. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. ix. Clarendon, vol. i.

PART II. A. D. 1640.

attended him; and Strafford, who had juſt entered the houſe of peers, and intended, it is ſaid, the ſame day to have impeached ſome popular members of both houſes, for holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the Scots, was ſuddenly ordered into cuſtody, with many ſymptoms of prejudice in his judges as well as his accuſers[45].

ELATED with their ſucceſs, the popular leaders ventured alſo to impeach archbiſhop Laud, the lord-keeper Finch, and ſecretary Windebank[46]. The two laſt made their eſcape beyond ſea, before they were taken into cuſtody: the primate was committed. From *traitors*, the commons proceeded to the proſecution of *delinquents*; a term expreſſive of a degree and ſpecies of guilt not exactly known or aſcertained, but which, by the interpretation then put upon it, expoſed to puniſhment not only the king's miniſters and counſellors, but many of the nobility, gentry, and clergy. All, in a word, however warranted by precedent or proclamation, who had acted without the authority of the ſtatute-law of the land[47].

THE commons took other ſteps of more importance. They declared the ſanction of the two houſes of parliament, as well as of the king, neceſſary to the confirmation of eccleſiaſtical canons: they expelled from their houſe all monopoliſts; and committees were appointed to inquire

45. Clarendon, vol. i.

46. Grimſtone, a popular member, called Sir Francis Windebank, who was one of Laud's creatures, "the very pander and broker to the "whore of Babylon!" (Ruſhworth, vol. v.) Nothing can ſhew in a ſtronger light the illiberal way of thinking, and narrow prejudices of the times, than the uſe of ſuch expreſſions, in the houſe, on ſo great an occaſion.

47. Clarendon, vol. i

into

into all the violations of law and liberty, of which any complaint had been made. From the reports of theſe committees, the houſe daily paſſed votes, which mortified and aſtoniſhed the court, at the ſame time that they animated and inflamed the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the ſentence againſt Hambden was cancelled; compoſitions for knighthood were ſtigmatized; the extenſion of the foreſt-laws condemned, patents for monopolies annulled; and every meaſure of adminiſtration for ſome years back was treated with reproach and obloquy [48].

LETTER IV. A. D. 1640.

ALL moderate men were now of opinion, that a deſign was formed to ſubvert the monarchy [49]; and the church was in no leſs danger. While the harangues of the members, now firſt publiſhed and diſperſed, kept alive the diſcontents againſt the king's adminiſtration, the pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily ſettled in all the conſiderable churches, reſounded with faction and fanaticiſm: and the popular leaders, in order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired, and inſpire confidence into their friends, as well as to overawe their opponents, judged it requiſite ſtill to delay the departure of the Scots. Meantime the chaplains to their commiſſioners began openly to uſe the preſby-

48. Nalſon, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. i. Ruſhworth, vol. iii.

49. "You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces," ſaid Charles in a ſpeech to the parliament; "a practice frequent with "ſkilful artiſts, when they deſire to clear the wheels from any ruſt, "which may have grown upon them. The engine," continued he, "may again be reſtored to its former uſe and motions, provided it be "put up entire; ſo as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from being the intention of the commons. The machine they thought, with ſome reaſon, was encumbered with many wheels and ſprings, which counteracted its operations, and deſtroyed its utility. Hume, chap. liv.

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PART II. A. D. 1640.

terian form of worſhip, which had not hitherto been tolerated in England, and with ſuch amazing ſucceſs in London, that multitudes crowded not only into the church aſſigned them, but ſuch as could not there find room clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching at leaſt the diſtant murmur, or ſome broken phraſes of the ſpiritual rhetoric[50].

THIS was the moſt effectual method of paying court to the zealous Covenanters. To ſpread the preſbyterian diſcipline and worſhip throughout England, and to eſtabliſh that faith on the ruins of epiſcopacy, would have given more joy to their godly hearts than the temporal conqueſt of the kingdom: and the hour was faſt approaching, when that joy was to be their's. The puritanical party among the commons, emboldened by their ſucceſs in civil matters, began openly to profeſs their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the eſtabliſhed religion. Every day produced ſome vehement harangue againſt the uſurpations of the biſhops; and ſo highly diſguſted were all the lovers of liberty at the political doctrines propagated by the clergy, that no diſtinction, for a time, appeared between ſuch as deſired only to repreſs the exorbitances of the hierarchy, and ſuch as wanted totally to annihilate epiſcopal juriſdiction[51].

ENCOURAGED by theſe favourable appearances, petitions againſt the eſtabliſhed church were framed in different parts of the kingdom: and the epithet of the *ignorant*, or *ſcandalous* prieſthood, was commonly applied to all churchmen; although the epiſcopal clergy in England, during that age, ſeem to have been ſufficiently learned and exemplary. An addreſs againſt epiſcopacy was preſented by twelve clergymen of the com-

50. Clarendon, vol. i.

51. Hume, vol. vi.

mittee

mittee of religion, ſaid to be ſigned by ſeven hundred puritanical miniſters. But the petition which made the greateſt noiſe, was that from the city of London, for a total alteration of church-government, and to which ſixteen thouſand names were annexed [52].

A. D. 164[illegible]

THE popular leaders, notwithſtanding theſe indications of a fanatical diſpoſition in the people, and though generally diſaffected againſt epiſcopacy, reſolved to proceed with caution, and overturn the hierarchy by degrees. With this view, they introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exerciſe of any civil office. The biſhops, of courſe, were to be deprived of their ſeats in the houſe of peers; a meaſure very acceptable to the zealous friends of liberty, who had obſerved with regret the devoted obſequiouſneſs of the eccleſiaſtical order to the will of the monarch.

CHARLES, who had hitherto remained wholly paſſive, during all the violent proceedings of the preſent parliament, was now rouſed by the danger that threatened his favourite epiſcopacy; which was, indeed, the great pillar of the throne. He ſent for the two houſes to Whitehall, and told them, that he intended to reform all innovations in church and ſtate, and to reduce matters of religion and government to what they were in the pureſt times of queen Elizabeth [53]. "But ſome men," ſaid he, "encouraged by the ſitting of this parliament, more "maliciouſly than ignorantly, put no difference between "*reformation* and *alteration* of government."

52. Clarendon, vol. i.

53. If the majority of the commons, or at leaſt of the leading men among them, had not been reſolved on the total overthrow of the church and monarchy, a fair opportunity was here afforded them of effecting a thorough reconciliation of parties, by a temperate reformation of civil and eccleſiaſtical abuſes.

"Though

PART II. A. D. 1640.

"Though I am for the former," added he, "I cannot "give way to the latter. I will not ſay that biſhops "may not have overſtretched their ſpiritual power, or "encroached upon the temporal; which, if you find, "correct and reform the abuſe, according to the wiſ- "dom of former times: and ſo far I am with you. "Nay, farther: if, upon ſerious debate, you ſhall "ſhew me, that biſhops have ſome temporal authority "inconvenient to the ſtate, and not neceſſary to the "church for the ſupport of epiſcopacy, I ſhall not be "unwilling to perſuade them to lay it down. Yet by "this, you muſt underſtand, that I cannot conſent to "the taking away of their *voice in parliament*; a privi- "lege which they have anciently enjoyed under ſo many "of my predeceſſors, even before the Conqueſt, and "ever ſince, and which I conceive I am bound to main- "tain, as one of the fundamental inſtitutions of this "kingdom [54]."

THE king, however, was ſoon freed from all immediate apprehenſions on this ſubject by the peers, a great majority of whom rejected the bill. But the puritanical party among the commons, in order to ſhew how little they were diſcouraged, brought in another bill for the total abolition of epiſcopacy; and although they thought proper to let it reſt for a while, their purpoſe was not the leſs ſincere. Other matters demanded their preſent attention. They got an act paſſed, and without any heſitation on the part of the king, declaring it unlawful to levy the duties of tonnage and poundage, without conſent of parliament; after which, they brought in a bill to prevent the diſcontinuance of parliaments for above three years.

54. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. ix.

THOUGH

THOUGH by this bill ſome of the nobleſt and moſt valuable privileges of the crown were retrenched, ſuch a law was indiſpenſably neceſſary for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. "Let no man," ſaid the ſpirited and artful Digby, who knew well the importance of the bill, "object any derogation from the king's "prerogative by it. His honour, his power, will be "as conſpicuous in commanding that a parliament ſhall "aſſemble every third year, as in commanding a par-"liament to be called this or that year. There is more "majeſty in ordaining primary and univerſal cauſes, "than in actuating ſubordinate effects. In chuſing ill "miniſters," added he emphatically, "we do but diſſi-"pate clouds that may gather again: but, in voting this "bill, we ſhall perpetuate our ſun, our ſovereign, in "his vertical, his noon-day luſtre[55]." Charles, finding that nothing leſs would ſatisfy his parliament and people, gave his reluctant aſſent to the bill.

THE victory of the commons was now complete; and had they uſed it with moderation, the members of this parliament would have merited the praiſe of all ſincere lovers of their country, as well as of the enthuſiaſts of liberty. Nor would their ſubſequent abolition of the arbitrary courts of the Star-chamber and High-commiſſion, ſo grievous to the nation, be imputed to them as cauſe of blame. But their cruel perſecution of Strafford, and their future encroachments upon the king's authority, which made reſiſtance a virtue, and involved the three kingdoms in all the horrors of civil war, muſt make their patriotiſm very queſtionable in the opinion of every diſpaſſionate man. Their unjuſtifiable encroachments on the authority of Charles, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to conſider: here we muſt examine the

55. Id. ibid.

progreſs

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progreſs of their vengeance againſt his miniſter; whoſe high reputation, for experience and capacity, made them regard his death as their only ſecurity for ſucceſs in their farther attacks upon the throne.

In conſequence of this idea, the impeachment of Strafford had been puſhed on with the utmoſt vigour. Immediately after he was ſequeſtered from parliament, and confined in the Tower, a committee of thirteen was choſen by the commons, and intruſted with the office of preparing a charge againſt him. This committee, aſſiſted by a few peers, was veſted with authority to examine all witneſſes, to call every paper, and to uſe any means of ſcrutiny, in regard to any part of the earl's behaviour or conduct [56]: and, as a profound hiſtorian remarks, after ſo general and unbounded an inquiſition, exerciſed by ſuch powerful and implacable enemies, a man who had acted in a variety of public ſtations, muſt have been very cautious or very innocent, not to afford, during the whole courſe of his proceedings, ſome matter of accuſation againſt him [57].

Nothing, however, was found againſt Strafford that could by any means be brought under the deſcription of treaſon; a crime which the laws of England had defined with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs, in order to protect the ſubject againſt the violence of the king and his miniſters. Aware of this, the commons attempted A. D. 1641. to prove againſt the priſoner, "an endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom [58]:" and as the ſtatute of treaſon makes no mention of ſuch a ſpecies of guilt, they invented a kind of accumulative, or conſtructive evidence, by which many actions, ei-

56. Clarendon, vol. i. 57. Hume, *Hiſt. Eng.* chap. lvi.
58. Ruſhworth, vol. iv.

ther totally innocent in themſelves, or criminal in an inferior degree, ſhall when united amount to treaſon, and ſubject the perſon to the higheſt penalties inflicted by the law; the king and parliament, as they aſſerted, having power to determine what is treaſon, and what not. They accordingly voted that the facts proved againſt the earl of Strafford, taken collectively, were treaſonable [59].

A. D. 1641.

STRAFFORD defended himſelf with firmneſs and ability. After pleading to each particular article of the charge, he brought the whole together, in order to repel the imputation of treaſon. "Where," ſaid he, "has this ſpecies of guilt been ſo long concealed? "Where has this fire been ſo long buried, during ſo "many centuries, that no ſmoke ſhould appear, till it "burſt out at once to conſume me and my children? "Better it were to live under no law at all, and by the "maxims of cautious prudence, to conform ourſelves "the beſt we can to the arbitrary will of a maſter, than "fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find "at laſt, that this law ſhall inflict a puniſhment prece-"dent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims un-"heard of till the very moment of proſecution. If I "ſail on the Thames, and ſplit my veſſel on an anchor; "in caſe there be no buoy to give me warning, the "party ſhall pay me damages: but if the anchor be "marked out, then is the ſtriking on it at my own "peril. Where is the mark ſet upon this crime? where

59. Ruſhworth, vol. iv. As a proof how far the popular leaders were hurried away by their vindictive paſſions, it will be ſufficient to quote the ſpeech of Mr. St. John, who affirmed that Strafford had no title to plead law, becauſe he had endeavoured to deſtroy the law. "It is true," ſaid he, "we give law to hares and deers; for they are "beaſts of chace: but it was never accounted cruel, or unfair, to de-"ſtroy foxes and wolves, wherever they can be found; for they are "beaſts of prey!" Clarendon, vol. i.

"the

PART II. A. D. 1641.

"the token by which I ſhould diſcover it? It has lain "concealed under water; and no human prudence, "no human innocence, could teach me to avoid it, or "ſave me from the deſtruction with which I am at pre- "ſent threatened.

"IT is now full two hundred and forty years ſince "treaſons were defined; and ſo long has it been ſince "any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, "before myſelf. We have lived, my Lords, happy to "ourſelves at home; we have lived glorioufly abroad to "the world: let us be content with what our fathers "left; let not our ambition carry us to be more learned "than they were, in theſe killing and deſtructive arts. "Great wiſdom it will be in your lordſhips, and juſt "providence for yourſelves, for your poſterities, for "the whole kingdom, to caſt from you, into the fire, "theſe bloody and myſterious volumes of *arbitrary* and "*conſtructive treaſons*, as the primitive Chriſtians did "their books of curious arts, and betake yourſelves to "the plain *letter* of the *ſtatute*, which tells you where "the crime is, and points out to you the path by which "you may avoid it.

"LET us not, to our own deſtruction, awake thoſe "ſleeping lions, by rattling up a company of old re- "cords, which have lain for ſo many ages by the wall, "forgotten and neglected. To all my afflictions add "not this, my Lords, the moſt ſevere of any; that I "for my own ſins, not for my treaſons, be the means "of introducing a precedent ſo pernicious to the laws "and liberties of my native country. Theſe gentlemen "at the bar, however, ſay they ſpeak for the common- "wealth; and they may believe ſo: yet under favour, "it is I who, in this particular, ſpeak for the common- "wealth. Precedents like thoſe which are endeavour-

"ed

"ed to be eſtabliſhed againſt me, muſt draw along with "them ſuch inconveniences and miſeries, that, in a few "years, the kingdom will be in the condition expreſſed "in a ſtatute of Henry IV. *no man* ſhall *know* by *what* "*rule* to *govern* his *words* or *actions*.

LETTER IV. A. D. 164

"IMPOSE not, my Lords, difficulties inſurmount-"able upon miniſters of ſtate, nor diſable them from "ſerving with chearfulneſs their king and country. If "you examine them, and under ſuch ſevere penalties, "by every grain, by every little weight, the ſcrutiny "will be intolerable: the public affairs of the kingdom "muſt be left waſte; for no wiſe man, who has any "honour, or fortune to loſe, will ever engage himſelf "in ſuch dreadful, ſuch unknown perils.

"MY Lords, I have now troubled your lordſhips too "long; a great deal longer than I ſhould have done, "were it not for the intereſt of theſe dear pledges, "which a ſaint in heaven has left me. I ſhould be loth" —Here his grief deprived him of utterance. He let fall a tear, pointed to his children, who were placed near him, and thus proceeded:—"What I forfeit for myſelf "is a triſle; but that my indiſcretion ſhould forfeit for "them, I confeſs, wounds me very deeply. You will "be pleaſed to pardon my infirmity"—again dropping a tear. "Something I ſhould have added, but find I ſhall "not be able, and therefore ſhall leave it. And now, "my Lords, I thank God, I have been, by his good "bleſſing, ſufficiently inſtructed in the extreme vanity "of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the im-"portance of our eternal duration; and ſo, my Lords, "even ſo, with all humility, and with all tranquillity "of mind, I ſubmit, clearly and freely, to your judge-"ments: and whether that righteous doom ſhall be "life or death, I ſhall repoſe myſelf, full of gratitude

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"and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of "my exiſtence[60]."

CERTAINLY, ſays Whitlocke, never any man *acted* ſuch *a part*, on ſuch a *theatre*, with more *wiſdom*, *conſtancy*, and *eloquence*; with greater *reaſon*, *judgment*, and *temper*, and with a *better grace* in all his *words* and *actions*, than did this *great* and *excellent perſon*: and he moved the *hearts* of all his *auditors*, ſome few excepted, to *remorſe* and *pity*[61]. It is truly remarkable, that the hiſtorian, who makes theſe candid and liberal obſervations, was himſelf chairman of that committee, which conducted the impeachment againſt this unfortunate nobleman!

THE accuſation and defence laſted eighteen days; and Strafford behaved with ſo much modeſty and humility, as well as firmneſs and vigour, that the commons, though aided by all the weight of authority, would have found it impoſſible to obtain a ſentence againſt him, if the peers had not been overawed by the tumultuous populace. Reports were every day ſpread of the moſt alarming plots and conſpiracies; and about ſix thouſand men, armed with ſwords and cudgels, flocked from the city, and ſurrounded the two houſes of parliament. When any of the lords paſſed, the cry for *juſtice* againſt Strafford reſounded in their ears; and ſuch as were ſuſpected of friendſhip for that obnoxious miniſter, were ſure to meet with menaces, accompanied with ſymptoms of the moſt deſperate intentions in the furious multitude[62]. Intimidated by theſe threats, only forty-five, out of about eighty peers, who had conſtantly attended this important trial, were preſent when the bill

60. Ruſhworth, vol. iv.
61. *Mem.* p. 43.
62. Clarendon, vol. i.

of attainder was brought into the houſe, and nineteen of that number had the courage to vote againſt it[63]; a ſtrong preſumption that, if no danger had been apprehended, it would have been rejected by a conſiderable majority. LETTER IV. A. D. 1641.

POPULAR violence having thus far triumphed, it was next employed to extort the king's conſent. Crowds of people beſieged Whitehall, and ſeconded their demand of juſtice on the miniſter, with the loudeſt clamours, and moſt open threatenings againſt the monarch. Rumours of plots and conſpiracies againſt the parliament were anew circulated; invaſions and inſurrections were apprehended; and the whole nation was raiſed into ſuch a ferment, as ſeemed to portend ſome great and immediate convulſion. On which ſide ſoever the king turned his eyes, he ſaw no reſource or ſecurity, except in ſubmitting to the will of the populace. His courtiers, conſulting their own perſonal ſafety, and perhaps their intereſt, more than their maſter's honour, adviſed him to paſs the bill of attainder; the puſillanimous judges, when conſulted, declared it legal; and the queen, who formerly bore no good will toward Strafford, alarmed at the appearance of ſo frightful a danger, as that to which the royal family muſt be expoſed by protecting him, now became an importunate ſolicitor for his death. She hoped, if the people were gratified in this demand, that their diſcontents would finally ſubſide; and that, by ſuch a meaſure, ſhe ſhould acquire a more abſolute aſcendant over the king, as well as ſome credit with the popular party. Biſhop Juxon alone, in this trying extremity, had honeſty or courage to offer an opinion worthy of his prince: he adviſed him if, in his conſcience,

63. Whitlocke, p. 45.

PART II. A. D. 1641. he did not think the priſoner criminal, by no means to give his aſſent to the bill [64].

WHILE Charles was all anxiety and irreſolution, ſtruggling between virtue and neceſſity, he received a letter from Strafford, entreating him, for the ſake of public peace, to put an end to the innocent life of his unhappy ſervant; and thus to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them that requeſt for which they were ſo clamorous. "In this," added he, "my conſent will "more acquit you to God, than all the world can do "beſides: to a willing man there is no injury [65]. And "as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world, with a "calmneſs and meekneſs of infinite contentment to my "diſlodging ſoul; ſo to you, Sir, I can reſign the life "of this world with all imaginable chearfulneſs in the "juſt acknowledgment of your exceeding favours [66]."

THIS illuſtrious effort of diſintereſtedneſs, worthy of the noble mind of Strafford, and equal to any inſtance of generoſity recorded in the annals of mankind, was ill rewarded by Charles; who, after a little more heſi-

64. Clarendon, vol. i. This opinion has been cavilled at. "A king "of England," it has been ſaid, "ought never to interpoſe his private "opinion againſt the other parts of the legiſlature." If ſo, the royal aſſent is a matter of mere form; and perhaps, in moſt caſes, it ought to be ſo. But, in the preſent inſtance, the king was ſurely the beſt judge, whether Strafford, as a miniſter, had adviſed the ſubverſion of the conſtitution; or, as an officer, had exceeded the extent of his commiſſion: and, if he was blameable in neither capacity, Charles was ſurely bound, both in honour and conſcience, to with-hold his aſſent from the bill. The royal aſſent is not now neceſſary to bills of attainder; the jealouſy of our conſtitution having cut off that, among other dangerous prerogatives.

65. It appears, that the king had ſent a letter to Strafford during his confinement, in which he aſſured him, upon the word of a king, that he ſhould not ſuffer in life, honour, or fortune. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii.

66. Clarendon, vol. i. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

tation,

tation, as if his ſcruples had been merely of the religious kind, granted a commiſſion to four noblemen to give the royal aſſent, in his name, to the bill. Theſe commiſſioners were alſo empowered, at the ſame time, to give aſſent to a bill, that the parliament then ſitting ſhould not be diſſolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without the conſent of the majority of the members[67]; a bill of yet more fatal conſequence to his authority than the other, as it rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as well as uncontroulable. But in the moment of remorſe for aſſenting to the bill of attainder, by which he deemed himſelf an accomplice in his friend's murder, this enormous conceſſion appears totally to have eſcaped his penetration, and to have been conſidered comparatively as a light matter.

THE king might ſtill have ſaved his miniſter, by granting him a reprieve; but that was not thought adviſable, while the minds of men were in ſuch agitation. He ſent, however, by the hands of the prince of Wales, a letter addreſſed to the peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the commons about a mitigation of the priſoner's ſentence, or at leaſt to procure ſome delay. Both requeſts were rejected; and Strafford, finding his fate inevitable, prepared to meet death with the ſame dignity with which he had lived. In thoſe awful moments of approaching diſſolution, though neither cheered by that ray of popular immortality, which beams upon the ſoul of the expiring patriot, nor conſoled by the affectionate ſorrow of the ſpectators, his erect mind found reſources within itſelf; and, ſupported by the ſentiment of conſcious integrity, maintained its unbroken reſolution amid the terrors of death, and the triumphant exultations of his vindictive enemies. His diſcourſe,

67. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1641.

and alſo his deportment on the ſcaffold, diſcovered equal compoſure and courage. "The ſhedding of innocent "blood," ſaid he, "as a propitiatory ſacrifice, is a bad "omen, I fear, of the intended reformation of the "ſtate." And on preparing himſelf for the block, he made this memorable declaration: "I thank God I am "no way afraid of death, nor daunted with any terrors; "but do as chearfully lay down my head at this time, "as ever I did when going to repoſe[68]!" He accordingly ſubmitted to his doom; and, at one blow, the executioner happily performed his office.

THUS, my dear Philip, periſhed, in the forty-ninth year of his age, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, the laſt great prop of royalty under the turbulent reign of Charles I. His character, as might be expected, has been ſeverely handled by our zealous republican writers; but by none of them has it been ſo completely mangled, as by a furious female, who will allow him neither virtue nor talents. But his abilities as a ſtateſman, and his unſhaken attachment to his maſter, you will readily perceive, were the chief cauſe of his ruin: and in the future proceedings of that parliament, to whoſe reſentment he fell a ſacrifice, you will find the beſt apology for his adminiſtration. A certain degree of vigour, and more perhaps than Strafford exerted, was neceſſary to preſerve the church and monarchy from the ravages of thoſe civil and religious enthuſiaſts, who ſoon overturned both.

THE immediately ſubſequent proceedings of the commons, however, though inroads on the royal prerogative, were by no means reprehenſible. They brought in a bill, which was unanimouſly paſſed by both houſes,

68. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

for

for abolishing the arbitrary Star-chamber and High-commission courts, so grievous to all the lovers of liberty. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the privy council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Charles, after some hesitation, gave his assent to this excellent statute, which produced a material, but salutary change in our constitution. Several other arbitrary courts of an inferior nature were abolished: and the king, at the request of the parliament, instead of patents during pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour [69]; an advance of the utmost importance toward the impartial administration of justice, and the exclusion of the influence of the crown from the ordinary courts of law.

In a word, if the commons had proceeded no farther, they would have deserved the praise of all the friends of freedom; and even the iniquity of Strafford's attainder, their most blameable measure, would have been lost amid the blaze of their beneficial provisions and necessary regulations, which had generally a reference to posterity. But, like all political bodies who have rapidly acquired power, having gone so far, they did not know where to stop; but advanced insensibly, from one gradation to another, till they usurped the whole authority of the state.

These usurpations, and their consequences, we shall afterward have occasion to notice. They will form the subject of another Letter. In the meantime I must observe, that the parliament, after sending home the Scots, and dismissing the English army, put a temporary stop to its proceedings; and that Charles paid a visit to his native kingdom, in order to settle the government to the satisfaction of the Covenanters.

69. Clarendon, vol. i. Whitlocke, p. 47. May, p. 107.

LETTER V.

GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, *from the Execution of* STRAFFORD, *to the Beginning of the Grand Rebellion, in* 1642.

LETTER V.

A. D. 1641.

WHEN Charles arrived in Scotland, he found his ſubjects of that kingdom highly elated with the ſucceſs of their military expedition. Beſides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters at Newcaſtle, as long as the popular leaders had occaſion for them, the Engliſh parliament had conferred on them a preſent of three hundred thouſand pounds for their *brotherly aſſiſtance*[1]. They were declared, in the articles of pacification, to have been *ever* good ſubjects; and their hoſtile irruptions were approved of, as enterprizes calculated, and *intended* for his majeſty's *honour* and *advantage!* Nay, in order to carry yet farther the triumph over their ſovereign, theſe articles, containing terms ſo ignominious to him, were ordered, by a parliamentary vote, to be read in all churches, on a day of thankſgiving, appointed for the national pacification[2].

PEOPLE in ſuch a humour, were not likely to be ſatisfied with trifling conceſſions. The Scottiſh parliament began with aboliſhing the Lords of Articles; who, from their conſtitution, were ſuppoſed to be entirely devoted to the court, and without whoſe conſent no motion could be made[3]: a circumſtance peculiarly grievous in the Scottiſh parliament, where the peers and commons formed only one houſe. A law for triennial parliaments was likewiſe paſſed; and it was ordained, that the laſt act of every parliament ſhould ap-

1. Nalſon, vol. i. 2. Ruſhworth, vol. v. 3. Burnet, *Mem.*

point

point the time and place for holding the parliament next enſuing [4]. So far all perhaps was laudable; but ſubjects who uſurp on the authority of their prince, never know where to draw the line. In their rage for redreſſing grievances, they invade the moſt eſſential branches of royal prerogative. The king was in a manner dethroned in Scotland, by an article, which declared, That no member of the privy council (in whoſe hands, during the king's abſence, the whole adminiſtration was veſted), no officer of ſtate, none of the judges, ſhould be appointed but by the advice and approbation of parliament [5]. LETTER V. A.D. 1641.

To all theſe encroachments Charles quietly ſubmitted, in order to ſatisfy his Scottiſh ſubjects, and was preparing to return to England in hopes of completing a ſimilar plan of pacification, when he received intelligence, that a bloody rebellion had broke out in Ireland, accompanied with circumſtances of cruelty and devaſtation which fill the ſoul with horror. On every ſide ſurrounded by melancholy incidents and humiliating demands, nature and fortune, no leſs than faction and fanaticiſm, ſeemed to have conſpired the ruin of this unhappy prince.

THE conduct of James I. in regard to the affairs of Ireland, as we have already had occaſion to ſee, was truly political, and the ſame plan of adminiſtration was purſued by his ſon Charles; namely, to reconcile the turbulent natives to the authority of law, by the regular diſtribution of juſtice, and to cure them of that ſloth and barbariſm to which they had ever been addicted, by introducing arts and induſtry among them. For theſe ſalutary purpoſes, and alſo to ſecure the dominion of Ireland to the crown of England, great numbers of Bri-

4. Burnet's *Mem. of the Houſe of Hamilton.* 5. Ibid.

tiſh

PART II. A. D. 1641.

tiſh ſubjects had been carried over to that iſland, and large colonies planted in different parts of it; ſo that, after a peace of near forty years, the inveterate quarrels between the two nations not only ſeemed to be obliterated, but the country every where wore a leſs ſavage face.

To the tranquillity, as well as the proſperity of Ireland, the vigorous government of the earl of Strafford had contributed not a little. During his adminiſtration agriculture had made great advances, by means of the Engliſh and Scottiſh plantations; the ſhipping of the kingdom had been doubled; the cuſtoms tripled upon the ſame rates; and manufactures introduced and promoted [6]. But ſoon after that miniſter fell a victim to popular fury, though dignified with the forms of juſtice, affairs began to wear a very different aſpect in Ireland: and Charles found the parliament of that kingdom as high in its pretenſions as thoſe of England and Scotland, and as ready to riſe in its encroachments in proportion to his conceſſions. The court of High-commiſſion was voted to be a grievance; martial law was aboliſhed; the juriſdiction of the council annihilated, and proclamations and acts of ſtate declared of no authority [7].

THE Engliſh ſettlers, who were the chief movers of theſe meaſures, did not perceive in their rage for liberty, the danger of weakening the authority of government, in a country where the Proteſtants ſcarce formed the ſixth part of the inhabitants, and where two-thirds of the natives were ſtill in a ſtate of wild barbarity. The opportunity, however, thus afforded them, did not eſ-

6. Warwick, p. 115. Ruſhworth, vol. iv. Nalſon, vol. ii. Strafford may be ſaid to have given a beginning to the Linen Manufacture in Ireland, now become the great ſtaple of the kingdom.

7. Id. ibid.

cape

cape the diſcernment of the old Iriſh. They obſerved with pleaſure every impolitic ſtep, and determined on a general revolt, in order to free their country from the dominion of foreigners, and their religion from the inſults of profane heretics. In this reſolution they were encouraged by a gentleman, named Roger More, diſtinguiſhed among them by his valour and abilities; and who, by going from chieftain to chieftain, rouſed up every latent principle of diſcontent.

More maintained a cloſe correſpondence with lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'Neale, the moſt powerful of the old Iriſh chieftains; and he took every opportunity of repreſenting to his countrymen, that the king's authority, in Britain, was reduced to ſo low an ebb, that he could not poſſibly exert himſelf with any vigour, in maintaining the Engliſh dominion over Ireland; that the catholics in the Iriſh houſe of commons, aſſiſted by the Proteſtants, had ſo diminiſhed the royal prerogative, and the power of the lord-lieutenant, as would much facilitate the conducting of any conſpiracy that ſhould be formed; that the Scots, in having ſo ſucceſsfully thrown off dependence on the crown of England, and taken the government into their own hands, had ſet an example to the Iriſh, who had much greater grievances to complain of; that the Engliſh planters, who had expelled them from their ancient poſſeſſions, were but a handful in compariſon of the original inhabitants; that they lived in the moſt ſupine ſecurity, interſperſed with their numerous enemies, and truſting to the protection of a ſmall army, which was itſelf ſcattered in inconſiderable diviſions throughout the whole kingdom; that a body of eight thouſand men, raiſed and diſciplined by government, in order to ſuppreſs the rebellion in Scotland, were now thrown looſe, and ready for any

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any daring or deſperate enterprize[8]; that although the catholics had hitherto, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, enjoyed in ſome meaſure the exerciſe of their religion, they muſt expect that the government would thenceforth be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical party in parliament having, at laſt, ſubdued the ſovereign, would doubtleſs extend their ambitious views and fanatical politics to Ireland, as ſoon as they had conſolidated their authority, and make the catholics in that kingdom feel the ſame furious perſecution, to which their brethren in England were already expoſed; that a people, taking arms to reſcue their native country from the dominion of foreign invaders, could at no time be conſidered as rebels; and much leſs could the Iriſh be regarded as ſuch during the preſent diſorders, when royal authority, to which alone they could owe any obedience, was in a manner uſurped by a ſet of deſperate heretics, from whom they could expect no favour or indulgence, but might apprehend every violence and ſeverity 9.

INFLUENCED by theſe conſiderations, all the heads of the native Iriſh engaged in the conſpiracy; and it was not doubted but the old Britiſh planters, or the *Engliſh of the Pale*, as they were called, being all catho-

8. The Engliſh commons entertained the greateſt apprehenſions on account of this army, the officers of which were Proteſtants, but the private men Catholics; and never ceaſed ſoliciting the king, till he agreed to break it. Nor would they conſent to his augmenting the ſtanding army to five thouſand men; a number which he judged neceſſary to retain Ireland in obedience. Nay, they even fruſtrated an agreement, which he had made with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, to have the diſbanded troops tranſported into Flanders, and enliſted in his maſter's ſervice; Charles thinking it dangerous, that eight thouſand men accuſtomed to idleneſs, and trained to the uſe of arms, ſhould be diſperſed among a people ſo turbulent and predatory as the Iriſh. Clarendon, vol. i. Ruſhworth, vol. v. Dugdale, p. 57.

9. Sir John Temple's *Iriſh Rebellion.*

lics, would afterwards join in an attempt to reſtore their religion to its ancient ſplendour. The beginning of winter was fixed on for the commencement of this revolt, that there might be more difficulty in tranſporting forces from England: and the plan of the conſpirators was, That Sir Phelim O'Neale and his confederates ſhould, on one day, begin an inſurrection throughout the country, and attack all the Engliſh ſettlements; while lord Maguire and Roger More, on the ſame day, ſhould ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin. A. D. 1641.

A CONCURRENCE of favourable circumſtances ſeemed to have rendered the ſucceſs of this undertaking infallible. The Iriſh catholics diſcovered ſuch a propenſity to revolt, that it was not thought neceſſary to truſt the ſecret to many perſons; and the appointed day drew nigh without any diſcovery having been made to government. The earl of Leiceſter, whom the king had appointed lord-lieutenant, remained in London; and the two chief juſtices, Sir William Parſons and Sir John Borlace, were men of ſlender abilities. The attempt upon the caſtle of Dublin, however, was defeated by one O'Conolly, who betrayed the conſpiracy to Parſons. More eſcaped, Maguire was taken; and Mahone, another of the conſpirators, alſo being ſeized, diſcovered to the juſtices the project of a general inſurrection, and increaſed the terror and conſternation of the Proteſtants[10].

BUT this intelligence, though it ſaved Dublin, was obtained too late to enable the government to prevent the intended rebellion. O'Neale and his confederates immediately took arms in Ulſter. They began with ſeizing the houſes, cattle, and goods of the unwary

10. Sir John Temple's *Iriſh Rebellion*. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

Engliſh

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Engliſh and Scottiſh ſettlers, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and proſperity. After rapacity had fully exerted itſelf, cruelty began its operations: an univerſal maſſacre commenced of the Engliſh Proteſtants, now defenceleſs, and paſſively reſigned to their inhuman foes, who exerciſed on them a degree of barbarity unequalled in the hiſtory of any other nation, and at which credibility is ſtartled. No age, no ſex, no condition was ſpared: the wife, weeping over her murdered huſband, and embracing her helpleſs children, was butchered with them, and even pierced by the ſame ſtroke; all the ties of blood, as well as thoſe of ſociety, were diſſolved; and friends, relations, and companions, were hunted down by their kindred and connexions, and involved in one common ruin, by thoſe whom they had formerly conſidered as moſt ſincerely attached to their perſons, and who were moſt near and dear to them[11]! The women, forgetting the character of their ſex, emulated the men in the practice of every cruelty[12]; in compariſon with many of which, death might be regarded as a light puniſhment, and even as a happy releaſe from pain, roufed by all the varieties of torture.

AMIDST theſe frightful enormities, the ſacred name of religion reſounded on every ſide; not to arreſt the fury of the murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to ſteel their hearts againſt every movement of natural or ſocial ſympathy. The Engliſh Proteſtants were marked out by the catholic prieſts for ſlaughter, as heretics abhorred of God, and deteſtable to all holy men[13]. Perfidy, as well as cruelty, was accordingly repreſented as meritorious: and if any where a number of Engliſhmen aſſembled together, in order to defend themſelves

11. Temple, ubi ſup. 12. Ruſhworth, vol. v. Hume, chap. lv. p. 407. 13. Temple, p. 85.

to

to the laſt extremity, and to ſweeten death at leaſt by taking revenge on their deſtroyers, they were diſarmed by capitulations and promiſes of ſafety, confirmed by the moſt ſolemn oaths. But no ſooner had they ſurrendered, than the rebels made them ſhare the ſame fate with the body of their unhappy countrymen and fellow Proteſtants. Nor was this all. While death finiſhed the ſufferings of each unhappy victim, the bigotted aſſaſſins, with joy and exultation, ſtill echoed in his ears, that theſe dying agonies were but a prelude to torments infinite and eternal [14]. A.D. 1641.

SUCH were the barbarities, my dear Philip, by which Sir Phelim O'Neale and the Iriſh in Ulſter ſignalized their rebellion. The Engliſh colonies there were totally annihilated; and, from Ulſter, the flames of rebellion ſuddenly ſpread over the other three provinces of Ireland, where the Engliſh had eſtabliſhed ſettlements. In theſe provinces, however, though death and ſlaughter were not uncommon, the Iriſh pretended to act with more moderation and humanity. But cruel, alas! was their humanity, and unfeeling their moderation. Not content with expelling the Engliſh planters from their houſes, with deſpoiling them of their property, ſeizing their poſſeſſions, and waſting their cultivated fields, they ſtripped them of their very cloaths, and turned them out naked and defenceleſs, to all the ſeverities of the ſeaſon; while the heavens themſelves, as if joining in conſpiracy againſt the unhappy ſufferers, were armed with cold and tempeſt, unuſual to the climate, and executed what the mercileſs ſword had left unfiniſhed [15]! Even the Engliſh of the *Pale*, who at firſt pretended to blame the inſurrection, and to deteſt the barbarity with November

14. Temple, p. 94—188. Whitlocke, p. 47. Ruſhworth, vol. v.
15. Temple.

which

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which it was accompanied, in a little time, found the intereſts of religion to prevail over their regard to their mother-country, and their allegiance to their ſovereign; and joining the old Iriſh, rivalled them in every act of violence and cruelty againſt the Engliſh Proteſtants[16]. The number of perſons, who periſhed by all theſe barbarities, is computed at forty thouſand; and the principal army of the rebels, amounting to twenty thouſand men, yet thirſting for farther ſlaughter and richer plunder, now threatened Dublin, where the miſerable remnant of the Engliſh planters had taken refuge[17].

December.

THE king, while preparing to leave Edinburgh, as already obſerved, had received, by a meſſenger from the North of Ireland, an account of this dreadful inſurrection, which ought to be held in perpetual abhorrence by every lover of humanity[18]. He immedi-

16. Ibid. Both the Engliſh and Iriſh rebels conſpired in one impoſture, with which they ſeduced many of their deluded countrymen: they pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their inſurrection; and they affirmed that the cauſe of their taking up arms was to vindicate royal prerogative, ſo ſhamefully invaded by the puritanical parliament. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

17. Whitlocke, p. 49. Hume, chap. lv.

18. Many attempts have been made to throw a veil over the enormities of the Iriſh maſſacre. The natural love of independency, the tyranny of the Engliſh government, and the rapacity of the Engliſh ſoldiery, have been pleaded as powerful motives for rebellion, and ſtrong incentives to vengeance, in the breaſts of the injured and oppreſſed natives; and much trouble has been taken to prove, That the horrors of religious hate, though provoked by perſecution, have been greatly exaggerated. But the vindictive and ſanguinary diſpoſition of the Iriſh catholics, in latter times, leave us no room to ſuppoſe, that the deſcription of the cruelties of their bigotted and barbarous anceſtors has been overcharged. The ſtimulating cauſes I have not concealed, nor have I concealed their effects. The general ſlaughter I have reduced as low even as Mr. Brooke, the author of the *Tryal of the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, could wiſh; but truth forbids me to diſguiſe the atrocious circumſtances with which it was accompanied.

ately

ately communicated his intelligence to the Scottiſh parliament, hoping that the ſame zeal, which had induced the Covenanters twice to run to arms, and aſſemble troops in oppoſition to the rights of their ſovereign, would make them fly to the relief of their proteſtant brethren in Ireland, now labouring under the cruel perſecutions of the catholics. But the zeal of the Scots, as is uſual among religious ſects, was extremely feeble, when neither ſtimulated by a ſenſe of intereſt, nor by apprehenſions of danger. They, therefore, reſolved to make an advantageous bargain for the ſuccours they ſhould ſend to Ireland; and as the Engliſh commons, with which they were already cloſely connected, could alone fulfil any articles that might be agreed on, they ſent commiſſioners to London, to treat with that order in the ſtate to which the ſovereign authority was really transferred [19]. LETTER A.D. 1641.

THUS diſappointed in his expectation of ſupplies from the Scots, and ſenſible of his own inability to ſubdue the Iriſh rebels, Charles was obliged to have recourſe to the Engliſh parliament; to whoſe care and wiſdom, he imprudently declared, he was willing to commit the conduct and proſecution of the war. The commons, who poſſeſſed alone the power of ſupply, and who had aggrandiſed themſelves by the difficulties and diſtreſſes of the crown, ſeemed to conſider it as a peculiar happineſs, that the rebellion in Ireland had ſucceeded, at ſo critical a period, to the pacification of Scotland. They immediately laid hold of the expreſſion, by which the king committed to them the care of that iſland: and to this uſurpation, the boldeſt they had yet made, Charles was obliged paſſively to ſubmit; both becauſe of his utter inability to reſiſt, and leſt he ſhould expoſe

19. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

PART II. himſelf ſtill more to the infamous reproach, with which
A.D. 1641. he was already loaded by the Puritans, of countenancing the Iriſh rebellion.

THE commons, however, who had projected farther innovations at home, took no ſteps toward ſuppreſſing the inſurrection in Ireland, but ſuch as alſo tended to give them the ſuperiority in thoſe commotions, which they foreſaw would ſoon be excited in England. They levied money under colour of the Iriſh expedition, but reſerved it for enterpriſes that concerned them more nearly: they took arms from the king's magazines, under the ſame pretext, but kept them with a ſecret intention of employing them againſt himſelf. Whatever law they deemed neceſſary for their own aggrandiſement, was voted under pretence of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles with-held the royal aſſent, his refuſal was imputed to thoſe pernicious counſels, which had at firſt excited the popiſh conſpiracy in that kingdom, and which ſtill threatened total deſtruction to the proteſtant intereſt throughout all his dominions [20]. But ſo great was the confidence of the people in thoſe hypocritical zealots, whoſe votes breathed nothing but death and deſtruction to the rebels, that, although no forces were ſent to Ireland, and very little money remitted during the deepeſt diſtreſs of the Proteſtants, the fault was never imputed to the parliament!

THE commons, in the meantime, were employed in framing that famous remonſtrance, which was ſoon after followed by ſuch extraordinary conſequences. It was not, as uſual, addreſſed to the king, but was a declared appeal to the people. Beſides groſs falſehoods and malignant inſinuations, it contained an enumeration

20. Clarendon, vol. ii.

of

of every unpopular meaſure, which Charles had embraced, from the commencement of his reign to the calling of the parliament that framed it, accompanied with many jealous prognoſtics of future grievances:—and the acrimony of the ſtyle was equal to the harſhneſs of the matter. LETTER V. A. D. 1641.

A PERFORMANCE ſo full of gall, and ſo obviouſly intended to excite general diſſatisfaction, after the ample conceſſions made by the crown, was not only regarded by all diſcerning men, as a ſignal for ſome farther attacks upon the royal prerogative, but as a certain indication of the approaching abolition of monarchical government of England. The oppoſition, which the remonſtrance met with in the houſe of commons, was therefore very great. The debate in regard to it was warmly managed for above fourteen hours; and the vote, in its favour, was at laſt carried only by a ſmall majority, and ſeemingly in conſequence of the wearineſs of the king's party, conſiſting chiefly of elderly men, many of whom had retired [21]. It was not ſent up to the houſe of peers.

No ſooner was the remonſtrance of the commons publiſhed, than the king diſperſed an anſwer to it. Senſible of the diſadvantages under which he laboured in this conteſt, Charles contented himſelf with obſerving, that, even during the period ſo much complained of, the people had enjoyed not only a greater ſhare of happineſs and proſperity than was to be found in other countries, but perhaps in England during times eſteemed the moſt fortunate. He mentioned the great conceſſions made by the crown, proteſted his ſincerity in the reformed religion, and blamed the infamous libels every where diſ-

21. Ruſhworth, vol. v. Nalſon, vol. ii. Whitlocke, p. 49. Dugdale, p. 71.

PART II. A. D. 1641.

perſed againſt his perſon, government, and the eſtabliſhed church. "If, notwithſtanding theſe," added he, "any malignant party ſhall take heart, and be willing to ſacrifice the peace and happineſs of their country to their own ſiniſter ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion and conſcience; if they ſhall endeavour to leſſen my reputation and intereſt, and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they ſhall attempt, by diſcountenancing the preſent laws, to looſen the bands of government, that diſorder and confuſion may break in upon us; I doubt not but God, in his good time, will diſcover them to me, and that the wiſdom and courage of my high court of parliament will join with me in their ſuppreſſion and puniſhment[22]."

But the ears of the people were too much prejudiced againſt the king to liſten patiently to any thing that he could offer in his own vindication; ſo that the commons proceeded in their uſurpations upon the church and monarchy, and made their purpoſe of ſubverting both every day more evident. During the king's reſidence in Scotland, they had accuſed thirteen biſhops of high-treaſon, for enacting canons without conſent of parliament, though no other method had ever been practiſed ſince the foundation of the government; and they now inſiſted, that the peers, upon this general accuſation, ſhould ſequeſter thoſe biſhops from their ſeats in parliament, and commit them to priſon. But the majority of the peers, who plainly foreſaw the depreſſion of the nobility, as a neceſſary conſequence of the farther encroachments of the commons, paid little regard to ſuch an unreaſonable requeſt. Enraged at this, and other checks, the popular leaders openly told the lords,

22. Nalſon, vol. ii.

That

That they themſelves were the repreſentative body of the whole kingdom, and that the peers were nothing but individuals, who held their ſeats in a particular capacity: and, therefore, "If their lordſhips will not conſent to "the paſſing of acts neceſſary for the preſervation of the "people, the commons, together with ſuch of the lords "as are more ſenſible of the danger, muſt join together, "and repreſent the matter to his majeſty [23]." LETTER V. A. D. 1641.

THIS was a plain avowal of thoſe democratical principles, that began now to be propagated among the people, and which had long prevailed in the houſe of commons, as well as a bold attempt to form a party among the lords. And the tide of popularity ſeized many of the peers, and carried them wide of all the eſtabliſhed maxims of civil policy. Of theſe, the moſt conſiderable were, the earls of Eſſex and Northumberland, and lord Kimbolton, afterward earl of Mancheſter; men who, ſenſible that their credit ran high with the nation, raſhly ventured to encourage an enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, which they ſoon found they wanted power to regulate or controul.

THE body of the nobility, however, ſtill took ſhelter under the throne; and the commons, in order to procure a majority in the upper houſe, had again recourſe to the populace. Amidſt the greateſt ſecurity, they affected continual fears of deſtruction to themſelves and the nation [24]: they even ordered halberts to be brought into the hall where they aſſembled; and thus armed themſelves againſt thoſe deſperate conſpiracies, with which they pretended they were hourly threatened, and the feigned diſcoveries of which were induſtriouſly pro-

23. Clarendon, vol. ii. 1641.

24. *Journ.* 16th and 30th of Nov.

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pagated among the credulous people [25]. Multitudes flocked to Weſtminſter, and inſulted the biſhops and ſuch of the peers as adhered to the crown. The lords voted a declaration againſt theſe tumults, and ſent it to the lower houſe, but the commons refuſed their concurrence; and to make farther known their pleaſure, they ordered ſeveral ſeditious apprentices, who had been ſeized, and committed to priſon, to be ſet at liberty [26].

THUS encouraged, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and inſulted and threatened the king and the royal family. Such audacious behaviour rouſed the young gentlemen of the Inns of Court; who, with ſome reduced officers, undertook the defence of their ſovereign; and between them and the populace paſſed frequent ſkirmiſhes, which ſeldom ended without bloodſhed. Theſe gentlemen, by way of reproach, gave the fanatical inſulters of majeſty the name of ROUNDHEADS, on account of the ſhort cropt hair which they wore, while the rabble called their more poliſhed opponents, by reaſon of their being chiefly mounted on horſeback, CAVALIERS; names, which became famous during the civil war that followed, and which contributed not a little to inflame the animoſity between the parties, during the prelude to that conteſt, by affording the factious an opportunity to rendezvous under them, and ſignalize their mutual hate; by the reproachful ideas that were affixed to them by each party, no leſs than by the political diſtinctions which they marked.

THE Cavaliers, who affected a liberal way of thinking, as well as a gaiety and freedom of manners, inconſiſtent with puritanical ideas, were repreſented by the Roundheads as a ſet of abandoned profligates, equal-

25. Nalſon, vol. ii. 26. Id. ibid.

If

ly deſtitute of religion and morals; the devoted tools of the court, and zealous abettors of arbitrary power. The Cavaliers, on the other hand, regarded the Roundheads as a gloomy, narrow-minded, fanatical herd, determined enemies to kingly power, and to all diſtinction of ranks in ſociety. But in theſe characters, drawn by the paſſions of the two parties, we muſt not expect impartiality: both are certainly overcharged. The Cavaliers were, in general, ſincere friends to liberty and the Engliſh conſtitution; nor were republican and levelling principles by any means general at firſt among the Roundheads, though they came at laſt to predominate. It muſt however be admitted, that the Cavaliers, in order to ſhew their contempt of puritanical auſterity, often carried their convivial humour to an indecent exceſs; and that the gloomy temper and religious extravagancies of the Roundheads, afforded an ample field for the raillery of their facetious adverſaries.

In conſequence of theſe diſtinctions, and the tumults that accompanied them, the biſhops, being eaſily known by their habits, and expoſed to the moſt dangerous inſults from the enraged ſectaries, to whom they had long been obnoxious, were deterred from attending their duty in parliament. They, therefore, imprudently proteſted againſt all laws, votes, and reſolutions, as null and void, which ſhould paſs during their forced and involuntary abſence. The lords incenſed at this paſſionate ſtep, deſired a conference with the commons on the ſubject. The opportunity was eagerly ſeized by the lower houſe, and an impeachment of high treaſon ſent up againſt the biſhops, as endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and invalidate the authority of the legiſlature. They were immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody [27].

27. Ruſhworth, vol. v. Clarendon, vol. ii.

PART II. A. D. 1641.

THE king, who had haſtily approved of the proteſt of the biſhops, was ſoon after hurried into a greater indiſcretion; an indiſcretion which may be conſidered as the immediate cauſe of the civil war that enſued, and to which, or ſome ſimilar violence, the popular leaders had long wiſhed to provoke him by their intemperate language. They at laſt ſucceeded beyond their moſt ſanguine hopes. Enraged to find, that all his conceſſions but increaſed the demands of the commons; that the people, who, on his return from Scotland, had received him with expreſſions of duty and affection, were again rouſed to ſedition; that the blackeſt calumnies were propagated againſt him, and a method of addreſs adopted, not only unſuitable to a great prince, but which a private gentleman could not bear without reſentment! he began to ſuſpect that his government wanted vigour, and to aſcribe theſe unexampled acts of inſolence to his own facility of temper. In this opinion he was encouraged by the queen and her confidants, who were continually reproaching him with indolence, and entreating him to diſplay the majeſty of a ſovereign; before which, as they fondly imagined, the daring uſurpations of his ſubjects would ſhrink [29].

A. D. 1642.

CHARLES, ever ready to adopt violent counſels, and take advice from people inferior to himſelf in capacity, gave way to theſe arguments, and ordered the attorney-general to enter an accuſation of high-treaſon againſt lord Kimbolton and five commoners; namely, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hollis, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The chief articles of impeachment were, That they had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and to deprive the king of his regal power; that they had endeavoured,

29. Clarendon, vol. ii.

by

by many foul aſperſions on his majeſty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them; that they had invited and encouraged an hoſtile army to invade the kingdom; that, in order to complete their traiterous deſigns, they had endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join them; and, to that end, had actually raiſed and countenanced tumults againſt the king and parliament [30].

LETTER V. A. D. 164

THAT ſo bold a meaſure ſhould have been embraced at ſuch a criſis, was matter of ſurprize to all men, and of ſincere regret to the real friends of the conſtitution; more eſpecially, as it did not appear, that the members accuſed were any farther criminal than the body of the commons, except perhaps by the exertion of ſuperior abilities. But whatever might be their guilt, it was evident, that while the houſe of peers was ſcarce able to maintain its independency, it would never be permitted by the populace, had it even poſſeſſed courage and inclination, to paſs a ſentence, which muſt totally ſubdue the lower houſe; theſe five members being the very heads of the popular party, and the chief promoters of their ambitious projects.

THE aſtoniſhment excited by this meaſure was ſoon, however, transferred to attempts more bold and precipitant. A ſerjeant at arms was ſent to the houſe of commons, to demand, in the king's name, the five members accuſed. He returned without any poſitive anſwer; and meſſengers were employed to ſearch for them, and arreſt them, wherever they might be found. The houſe voted theſe violent proceedings to be breach

30. Whitlocke, P. 53. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

of

PART II. A.D. 1642.

of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members [31]. Irritated by ſo much oppoſition, the king went in perſon to the houſe of commons, in hopes of ſurpriſing the perſons whom he had accuſed, and demanded in vain; but they, having private intelligence of his reſolution, had withdrawn before he entered [32].

THE embarraſſment of Charles, on that diſcovery, may be eaſier conceived than deſcribed. Senſible of his imprudence, when too late, and aſhamed of the ſituation in which he found himſelf, "I aſſure you, on the "word of a king," ſaid he, "I never did intend any "force, but ſhall proceed againſt theſe men in a fair and "legal way; for I never meant any other. And now "ſince I ſee I cannot do what I came for, I think this no "unfit occaſion to repeat what I have ſaid formerly; "that whatever I have done in favour, and to the good "of my ſubjects, I do intend to maintain it [33]." The commons were in the utmoſt diſorder during his ſtay, and when he was departing, ſome members cried aloud, "Privilege! privilege [34]!"

THE houſe adjourned till next day; and the accuſed members, in order to ſhew the greater apprehenſion of perſonal danger, removed into the city the ſame evening. The citizens were in arms the whole night; and ſome incendiaries, or people actuated by their own fanatical fears, ran from gate to gate crying, that the Cavaliers, and the king at their head, were coming to burn the city. In order to ſhew how little occaſion there was for any ſuch alarm, and what confidence he placed in the citizens, Charles went next morning to Guildhall, attended

31. Whitlocke, p. 51. Ruſhworth, vol. v. 32. Whitlocke, p. 52. 33. Id. ibid. 34. Whitlocke, ubi ſup.

tended only by three or four noblemen, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the lord-mayor and common-council. He had accuſed ſome men, he ſaid, of high-treaſon, againſt whom he meant to proceed in a legal way; and therefore hoped they would not meet with protection in the city. The citizens, however, ſhewed no inclination to give them up; and the king left the hall, little better ſatisfied than with his viſit to the houſe of commons [35]. In paſſing through the ſtreets, he had the mortification to hear the inſulting cry, "Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!" reſound from every quarter; and one of the populace, more daring than the reſt, ſaluted him with the words employed by the mutinous Iſraelites, when they abandoned Rehoboam, their raſh and ill counſelled ſovereign:—"To your tents, O Iſrael [35]!"

When the commons met they affected the utmoſt terror and diſmay; and after voting, that they could not ſit in the ſame place, until they had obtained ſatisfaction for that unparalleled breach of privilege committed by the king, and had a guard appointed for their ſecurity, they adjourned themſelves for ſome days. In the meantime, a committee was ordered to ſit in the city, and inquire into every circumſtance attending the king's entry into the houſe of commons; from all which was inferred, an intention of offering violence to the parliament, by ſeizing, even in that houſe, the accuſed members, and of murdering all who ſhould make reſiſtance. They again met, confirmed the votes of the committee, and haſtily adjourned, as if expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. This practice they frequently repeated; and when, by theſe affected panics, they had filled the minds of the people with the

35. Clarendon, vol. ii. 36. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

PART II. A. D. 1642.

moſt dreadful apprehenſions, and inflamed them with enthuſiaſtic rage againſt the court, the accuſed members were conducted by the city militia, in a kind of military triumph to Weſtminſter, in order to reſume their ſeats in the houſe; the populace, as they paſſed Whitehall, by land and water, frequently aſking, with inſulting ſhouts, "What is become of the king and his "Cavaliers[37]?"

CHARLES, apprehenſive of danger from the furious multitude, had retired to Windſor. There, deſerted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief and ſhame for his miſconduct, he had leiſure to reflect on the fatal meaſures into which he had been hurried. He ſaw himſelf involved in a ſituation the moſt diſtreſſing, entirely by his own precipitancy and indiſcretion, and how to extricate himſelf with honour he could not diſcover: his friends were diſcouraged, his enemies triumphant, and the people ſeemed ripe for rebellion. Without ſubmiſſion, his ruin appeared to be inevitable: but to make ſubmiſſion to ſubjects, was what his kingly pride could not bear; yet to that humiliating expedient, in his preſent circumſtances ſurely the moſt adviſeable, he had at laſt recourſe. In ſucceſſive meſſages to the commons, he told them, that he would deſiſt from his proſecution of the accuſed members; that he would grant them a pardon; that he would concur in any law that ſhould acquit or ſecure them; that he would make reparation to the houſe, for the breach of privilege, of which he acknowledged they had reaſon to complain; and he declared, that for the future, he would be as careful of the privileges of parliament as of his own crown and life[38]. This was certainly yielding too far; but the un-

37. Whitlocke. Dugdale. 38. Dugdale, p. 84. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

eaſy

easy mind is naturally carried from one extreme to another, in attempting to repair its errors. LETTER V.

A.D. 1642.

If the king's violence made him hateful, his unreserved submission made him contemptible to the commons. They thought he could now deny them nothing; and, therefore, refused to accept any concession for the breach of privilege, unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure. But Charles, whose honour as a gentleman was sacred and inviolable, had still spirit enough left to reject with disdain a condition, which would have rendered him for ever despicable, and unworthy of all friendship or confidence. He had already shewn to the nation, had the nation not been blinded by fanaticism, that, if he had violated the rights of parliament, which was still a question with many [39], he was willing to make every possible reparation, and yield them any satisfaction not inconsistent with the integrity of his moral character.

39. No maxim in law, it was said, is more established, or more universally allowed, than that privilege of parliament extends not to treason, felony, or breach of peace; that it was never pretended by any one, that the hall where the parliament assembles is an inviolable sanctuary; that if the commons complained of the affront offered them by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence, the blame must lie entirely upon themselves, who had formerly refused compliance with the king's message, when he peacefully demanded these members; that the sovereign is the great executor of the laws; and that his presence was here legally employed, both in order to prevent opposition, and to protect the house against those insults which their disobedience had so well merited. (Howel's *Inspection into the Carriage of the late Long Parliament*. Hume, chap. lv.) But whatever might be urged in favour of the legality of Charles's attempt to seize the accused members, no one pretended to vindicate the prudence either of that or the accusation. To impeach the heads of a faction, during the full tide of its power, was indeed attempting to fetter the waves.

MEAN-

PART II. A. D. 1642.

MEANWHILE the commons continued to declaim againſt the violation of parliamentary privileges, and to inflame ſtill farther the diſcontents of the people. For this purpoſe they had recourſe to the old expedient of petitioning, ſo flattering to human pride!—as it affords the meaneſt member of the community an opportunity of inſtructing the higheſt, and of feeling his own conſequence, in the right of offering ſuch inſtructions. A petition from Buckinghamſhire was preſented to the houſe, by ſix thouſand men, who promiſed to live and die in the defence of the privileges of parliament. One of the like nature was preſented by the city of London; and petitions from many other places were given in: nay, a petition from the apprentices was graciouſly received, and one from the porters was encouraged. The beggars, and even the women, were ſeized with the ſame rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thouſands of her ſex, brought a petition to the houſe; in which they expreſſed their terror of papiſts and prelates, rapes and maſſacres, and claimed a right equal to that of the men, in communicating their ſenſe of the public danger, ſince Chriſt had died for them as well as for the other ſex. The apprentices were loud in the praiſe of liberty, and bold in their threats againſt arbitrary power. The porters complained of the decay of trade, and deſired that juſtice might be done upon offenders, according to the atrociouſneſs of their crimes: and they added, "That if ſuch remedies were any "longer ſuſpended, they would be forced to extremi-"ties not fit to be named[40]." The beggars as a remedy for public miſeries, propoſed, "That thoſe noble "worthies of the houſe of peers, who concur with "the happy votes of the commons, may ſeparate

40. Clarendon, vol. ii. Ruſhorth, vol v.

"themſelves

"themſelves from the reſt, and ſit and vote as one en- LETTER V.
"tire body[41]." This language, which could not poſ- A.D. 164
ſibly be miſunderſtood, was evidently dictated by the commons themſelves.

BUT while theſe inflammatory petitions were encouraged, and received with the warmeſt expreſſions of approbation, all petitions which favoured the church or monarchy were diſcountenanced, and thoſe intereſted in them impriſoned, and proſecuted as delinquents. In a word, by the preſent fury of the people, as by an inundation, was ſwept away all oppoſition in both houſes, and every rampart of royal authority was laid level with the ground. The king, as appeared by the vote on the remonſtrance, had a ſtrong party in the lower houſe; and in the houſe of peers, he had a great majority, even after the biſhops were chaſed away. But now, when the populace without doors were ready to execute, on the leaſt hint, the will of their leaders, it was not ſafe for any member to approach either houſe, who pretended to oppoſe the general torrent.

THUS poſſeſſed of an undiſputed majority in both houſes, the popular leaders, who well knew the importance of ſuch a favourable moment, purſued their victory with vigour and diſpatch. The bills ſent up by the commons, and which had hitherto been rejected by the peers, were now paſſed, and preſented for the royal aſſent; namely, a bill veſting the parliament with the power of impreſſing men into the ſervice, under pretence of ſuppreſſing the rebellion in Ireland, and the long conteſted bill for depriving the biſhops of the privilege of voting in the houſe of lords. The king's authority was reduced ſo low, that a refuſal would have

41. Id. ibid.

been

PART II. A. D. 1742.

been both hazardous and ineffectual; and the queen, being ſecretly threatened with an impeachment, prevailed on her huſband ſpeedily to paſs thoſe bills, in hopes of appeaſing the rage of the multitude, until ſhe could make her eſcape to Holland [42].

BUT theſe important conceſſions, like all the former, ſerved only as a foundation for more exorbitant demands. Encouraged by the facility of the king's diſpoſition, the commons regarded the ſmalleſt relaxation in their invaſion of royal authority, as highly impolitic at ſuch a criſis. They were fully ſenſible, that monarchical government, which had been eſtabliſhed in England during ſo many ages, would regain ſome part of its former dignity, as ſoon as the preſent ſtorm was blown over, in ſpite of all their new-invented limitations: yet would it not be ſafe to attempt the entire abolition of an authority, to which the nation had been ſo long accuſtomed, before they were in poſſeſſion of the ſword; which alone could guard their uſurped power, or inſure to them perſonal ſafety againſt the riſing indignation of their inſulted ſovereign. To this point, therefore, they directed all their views. They conferred the government of Hull, where was a large magazine of arms, on Sir John Hotham; they ſent orders to Goring, governor of Portſmouth, to obey no orders but ſuch as he ſhould receive from the parliament; and they obliged the king to diſplace Sir John Biron, a man of unexceptionable character, and beſtow the government of the Tower on Sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they ſaid, they could place confidence [43].

THESE were bold ſteps, but a bolder was yet neceſſary to be made by the commons, before they could

42. Clarendon, vol. ii.

43. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

hope to accompliſh the ruin of royal authority; and that was, the acquiſition of the command of the militia, which would at once give them the whole power of the ſword, there being at that time no regular troops in England, except thoſe which the commons themſelves had levied for ſuppreſſing the Iriſh rebellion. With this view they brought in a bill; by the expreſs terms of which the lord-lieutenants of counties, or principal officers of the militia, who were all named in it, were to be accountable, not to the king, but to the parliament. Charles here ventured to put a ſtop to his conceſſions, though he durſt not hazard a flat denial. He only requeſted, that the military authority ſhould be allowed to remain in the crown: and, if that ſhould be admitted, he promiſed to beſtow commiſſions, but revocable at pleaſure, on the very perſons named in the bill. But the commons, whoſe object was nothing leſs than ſovereignty, imperiouſly replied, "That the dan-"ger and diſtempers of the nation were ſuch as could "endure no longer delay; and unleſs the king ſpeedily "complied with their demands, they ſhould be enforc-"ed, for the ſafety of prince and people, to diſpoſe of "the militia by the authority of both houſes, and were "reſolved to do it accordingly [44]."

LETTER V. A.D. 1642

But what was more extraordinary than all this, while the commons thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his reſidence in London, where they knew he would be entirely at their mercy. "I am ſo much amazed at this meſſage," ſaid Charles, in his prompt reply, "that I know not what to anſwer. "You ſpeak of jealouſies and fears! lay your hands "on your hearts, and aſk yourſelves, whether I may "not likewiſe be diſturbed with fears and jealouſies:

44. Ruſhworth, Part iii. vol. i. chap. iv.

PART II. A. D. 1642.

" and if ſo, I aſſure you, that this meſſage has nothing " leſſened them. As to the militia, I thought ſo much " of it before I gave that anſwer, and am ſo much aſ- " ſured, that the anſwer is agreeable to what, in juſ- " tice or reaſon, you can aſk, or I in honour grant, " that I ſhall not alter it in any point. For my reſidence " near you, I wiſh it might be ſafe and honourable, and " that I had no cauſe to abſent myſelf from Whitehall: " aſk yourſelves whether I have not!—What would you " have? Have I denied to paſs any bill for the eaſe and " ſecurity of my ſubjects?—I do not aſk what ye have " done for me!—Have any of my people been tranſ- " ported with fears and apprehenſions? I offer as free " and general a pardon as yourſelves can deviſe. " All this conſidered, there is a judgment of Heaven " upon this nation, if theſe diſtractions continue. God " ſo deal with me and mine! as all my thoughts and " intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true " proteſtant profeſſion, and for the obſervance and pre- " ſervation of the laws; and I hope God will bleſs and " aſſiſt thoſe laws for my preſervation [45]!"

THE firmneſs of this reply ſurpriſed the commons, but did not diſcourage them from proſecuting their ambitious aim. They had gone too far to retract: they therefore voted, That thoſe who adviſed his majeſty's anſwer, were " enemies to the ſtate, and miſchievous " projectors againſt the ſafety of the nation; that this " denial is of ſuch dangerous conſequence, that, if his " majeſty perſiſt in it, it will hazard the peace and tran- " quillity of all his kingdoms, unleſs ſome ſpeedy re- " medy may be applied by the wiſdom and authority of " parliament; and that ſuch of the ſubjects as have " put themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt the com-

45. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

" mon

"mon danger, have done nothing but what is juſtifi- LETTER V.
"able, and approved of by the houſe[46]." And, in order to induce the people to ſecond theſe uſurpations, A. D. 164
by arming themſelves more generally, the moſt unaccountable panics were ſpread throughout the nation by rumours of intended maſſacres and invaſions.

ALARMED at thoſe threatening appearances, and not without apprehenſions, that force might be employed to extort his aſſent to the militia-bill, the king thought it prudent to remove to a greater diſtance from London. Taking with him his two ſons, the prince of Wales and the duke of York, he accordingly retired northward, and made the city of York, for a time, the ſeat of his court. The queen had already taken refuge in Holland. There ſhe reſided with her daughter Mary, who had been given in marriage to the prince of Orange.

IN the northern parts of his kingdom, where the church and monarchy were ſtill reſpected, Charles found himſelf of more conſequence than in the capital or its neighbourhood, which was become a ſcene of fury and fanaticiſm. The marks of attachment ſhewn him at York exceeded his fondeſt expectations. The principal nobility and gentry, from all quarters of England, either perſonally or by letters, expreſſed their duty toward him, and exhorted him to ſave them from that democratical tyranny with which they were threatened.

FINDING himſelf ſupported by ſo conſiderable a body of his ſubjects, the king began to aſſume a firmer tone, and to retort the accuſations of the commons with ſpirit. As he ſtill perſiſted in refuſing the militia bill,

46. Id. ibid.

ART II. A. D. 1642. they had framed an ordinance, in which, by the ſole authority of the two houſes of parliament, they had named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force; of all the guards, garriſons, and forts in the kingdom. He iſſued proclamations againſt this uſurpation; and declared, that as he had formed a reſolution ſtrictly to obſerve the laws himſelf, he was determined that every one ſhould yield a like obedience [47]. The commons, on their part, were neither deſtitute of vigour nor addreſs. In order to cover their uſurped authority with a kind of veil, and to confound in the minds of the people the ideas of duty and allegiance, they bound, in all their commands, the perſons to whom they were directed, to obey the orders of his majeſty, ſignified by both houſes of parliament [48]. Thus by a diſtinction, hitherto unknown, between the office and the perſon of the king, they employed the royal name to the ſubverſion of royal authority!

THE chief object of both parties being the acquiſition of the favour of the people, each was deſirous to throw on the other the odium of involving the nation in civil diſcord. With this view, a variety of memorials, remonſtrances, and declarations were diſperſed; and the royal party was ſuppoſed to have greatly the advantage in the war of the pen. The king's memorials were chiefly compoſed by himſelf and lord Falkland, who had accepted the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and whoſe virtues and talents were of the moſt amiable and exalted kind. In theſe papers Charles endeavoured to clear up the principles of the conſtitution; to mark the boundaries of the powers entruſted by law to the ſeveral orders in the ſtate; to ſhew what great improvements the whole po-

47. Ruſhworth, ubi ſup.

48. Ibid.

litical

litical ſyſtem had received from his late conceſſions; to demonſtrate his entire confidence in his people; and to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made to that confidence and thoſe conceſſions. The parliament, on the other hand, exaggerated all his unpopular meaſures; and attempted to prove, that their whole proceedings were neceſſary for the preſervation of religion and liberty [49]. LETTER V. A. D. 164

BUT whatever advantage either ſide might gain by theſe writings, both were ſenſible, that the ſword muſt ultimately decide the diſpute: and they began to prepare accordingly. The troops which had been raiſed under pretence of the Iriſh rebellion, were now openly enliſted by the parliament for its own purpoſes, and the command of them given to the earl of Eſſex. Nor were new levies neglected. No leſs than four thouſand men are ſaid to have been enliſted in London in one day [50]. And the parliament having iſſued orders that loans of money and plate might be furniſhed, for maintaining theſe forces, ſuch vaſt quantities of plate were brought to their treaſurers, that they could hardly find room to ſtow it. Even the women gave up their ornaments, to ſupport the cauſe of the godly againſt the malignants [51].

VERY different was the king's ſituation. His preparations were not near ſo forward as thoſe of the parliament. In order to recover the confidence of his people, and remove all jealouſy of violent counſels, he had reſolved that the uſurpations and illegal pretenſions of the commons ſhould be evident to the whole world. This he conſidered as of more importance to his inte-

49. Ruſhworth, vol. v. 50. Vicar's *God in the Mount.*
51. Whitlocke. Dugdale.

PART II. A. D. 1642.

reſt than the collecting of magazines, or the aſſembling of armies. But had he even been otherwiſe diſpoſed, he would have found many difficulties to encounter; for although he was attended by a ſplendid train of nobility, and by a numerous body of gentlemen of great landed property, ſupplies could not be raiſed without a connection with the monied men, who were chiefly attached to the parliament, which had ſeized his revenues ſince the beginning of the conteſt concerning the militia bill. Yet was he not altogether unprepared. The queen, by diſpoſing of the crown jewels, had been enabled to purchaſe a cargo of arms and ammunition in Holland. Part of theſe had arrived ſafe; and Charles, finding that the urgent neceſſities of his ſituation would no longer admit of delay, prepared himſelf for defence, and rouſed his adherents to arms with a ſpirit, activity, and addreſs, that alike ſurpriſed his friends and his enemies. The reſources of his genius on this, as on on all other occaſions, ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the obſtacles to be overcome. He never appeared ſo great as when plunged in diſtreſs, or ſurrounded with perils.

THE commons, however, conſcious of their ſuperiority in force, and determined to take advantage of it, yet deſirous to preſerve the appearance of a pacific diſpoſition, ſent the king conditions, on which they were willing to come to an agreement, but to which they knew he would not ſubmit. Their demands, contained in nineteen propoſitions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical government, and would have involved in ruin the whole royal party. They required, That no man ſhould remain in the privy council, who had not the approbation of parliament; that no deed of the ſovereign ſhould have validity, unleſs it paſſed that council, and was atteſted under its ſeal; that all the

the principal officers of ſtate and chief judges ſhould be choſen with conſent of parliament, and enjoy their offices during life; that none of the royal family ſhould marry without conſent of both houſes of parliament; that the laws ſhould be executed againſt catholics; that the votes of popiſh lords ſhould be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church government ſhould have place, according to the advice of parliament; that the parliamentary ordinance, with regard to the militia, be ſubmitted to; that the juſtice of parliament paſs upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted for all paſt offences, with ſuch exceptions as ſhall be adviſed by parliament; that the forts and caſtles be diſpoſed of by conſent of parliament; and that no peers be made but with the concurrence of both houſes [52].

LETTE V. A. D. 164

"SHOULD I grant theſe demands," ſaid Charles, in his animated reply, "I may be waited on bareheaded: "I may have my hand kiſſed; the title of majeſty may "be continued to me; and *The King's Authority, ſigni-"fied by both Houſes*, may ſtill be the ſtyle of your "commands: I may have ſwords and maces carried "before me, and pleaſe myſelf with the ſight of a "crown and ſceptre, (though even theſe twigs would "not long flouriſh, when the ſtock upon which they "grew was dead); but as to true and real power, I "ſhould remain but the outſide, but the picture, but "the ſign of a king [53]." He accordingly reſolved to ſupport his authority by arms; war, at any diſadvantage, being eſteemed preferable, by himſelf and all his counſellors, to ſo ignominious a peace. Collecting therefore ſome forces, and advancing ſouthward, he erected his royal ſtandard at Nottingham.

52. Ruſhworth, vol. v. May, book. ii. 53. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1642.

THIS being conſidered as the open ſignal of diſcord and civil war throughout the kingdom, the abettors of the adverſe parties began now more diſtinctly to ſeparate themſelves: and when two names ſo ſacred in the Engliſh conſtitution as thoſe of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in oppoſition to each other, little wonder the people were divided in their choice, and agitated with the moſt violent animoſities!

THE greater part of the nobility, and the gentlemen of ancient families, fearing a total confuſion of ranks from the fury of the populace, attached themſelves to the throne, from which they derived their luſtre, and to which it was again communicated. Proud of their birth, of their conſequence in the ſtate, and of the loyalty and virtue of their anceſtors, they zealouſly adhered to the cauſe of their ſovereign; which was alſo ſupported by moſt men of a liberal education, or a liberal way of thinking, and by all who wiſhed well to the church and monarchy. But, on the other hand, as the veneration for the commons was extreme throughout the kingdom, and the averſion againſt the hierarchy general, the city of London, and moſt of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with ardour thoſe principles of freedom, on which that aſſembly had originally founded its pretenſions, and under colour of maintaining which it had taken up arms. Beſide theſe corporations, many families that had lately been enriched by commerce, ſeeing with envious eyes the ſuperior homage paid to the nobility and elder gentry, eagerly undertook the exaltation of a power, under whoſe dominion they hoped to acquire rank and diſtinction [54].

54. Clarendon, vol. iii.

THUS determined in their choice, both parties, putting a cloſe to argument, now referred the juſtice of their cauſe to the deciſion of the ſword.

LETTER VI.

GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, *from the Commencement of the Civil War to the Battle of* NASEBY, *in* 1645.

LETTER VI.

A. D. 1642.

NO conteſt ever ſeemed more unequal, my dear Philip, than that between Charles I. and his parliament, when the ſword was firſt drawn. Almoſt every advantage lay on the ſide of the latter. The parliamentary party being in poſſeſſion of the legal means of ſupply, and of all the ſea-ports except Newcaſtle, the cuſtoms yielded them a certain and conſiderable ſum; and all contributions, loans, and impoſitions, were more eaſily raiſed by the cities, which poſſeſſed the ready money, and were alſo chiefly in their hands, than they could be by the nobility and gentry, who adhered to the king. The ſeamen naturally followed the diſpoſition of the ſea-ports to which they belonged; and the earl of Northumberland, lord high-admiral, having engaged in the cauſe of the commons, had named, at their deſire, the earl of Warwick as his lieutenant. Warwick at once eſtabliſhed his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the ſea in the hands of his party. They were likewiſe in poſſeſſion of all the magazines of arms and ammunition in the kingdom, and had intercepted part of the ſtores the queen had purchaſed in Holland.

THE

PART II. A. D. 1642.

THE king's only hope of counterbalancing ſo many advantages, on the part of his adverſaries, aroſe from the ſuppoſed ſuperiority of his adherents in mental and perſonal qualities. More courage and enterprize were expected from the generous and lofty ſpirit of the ancient nobility and gentry, than from the baſe-born vulgar. Nor was it doubted but their tenants, whom they levied and armed at their own expence, would greatly ſurpaſs in valour and force the ſedentary and enervated inhabitants of cities. But, in making this compariſon, the myſterious and elevating influence of the double enthuſiaſm of religion and liberty was forgot: a kind of holy fury, ariſing from apprehenſions of danger, and a confidence in ſupernatural aid, which, accompanied with ſuppoſed illuminations, inſpires the daring fanatic with the moſt romantic bravery, and enables him to perform ſuch acts of proweſs as tranſcend the common ſtandard of humanity; confirm him in his belief of divine aſſiſtance, impel him to future exertions, and render his valour irreſiſtible, when directed againſt thoſe whom he regards as the enemies of God and of his country.

OF the power of this enthuſiaſtic energy, in animating the moſt groveling minds, Charles had unhappily too much reaſon to become acquainted, during his hoſtile ſtruggle for dominion; and to learn, from fatal experience, in many a hard fought field, that it was not inferior in efficacy even to the courage connected with greatneſs of ſoul or infuſed by nobility of birth. At preſent he had a contemptible idea of the parliamentary party, conſidered as individuals; but their numbers, their reſources, and their military preparations, were ſufficient to fill him with the moſt awful apprehenſions. He declared, however, againſt all advances toward an accom-

accommodation. "I have nothing left but my ho- LETTER VI.
"nour," ſaid he; "and this laſt poſſeſſion I am firmly
"reſolved to preſerve, and rather to periſh than yield A. D. 164.
"any farther to the pretenſions of my enemies [1]." But he was induced, by the earneſt ſolicitations of his friends, to relax in his purpoſe; and, in order to gain time, as well as to manifeſt a pacific diſpoſition, to ſend ambaſſadors to the parliament with offers of treaty, before he began hoſtilities.

THE conduct of the parliament juſtified Charles's opinion. Both houſes replied, "That they could not "treat with the king until he took down his ſtandard, "and recalled his proclamations," in which the members ſuppoſed themſelves to be declared traitors; and when, by a ſecond meſſage, he offered to recal thoſe proclamations, they deſired him to diſmiſs his forces, to reſide with his parliament, and to give up delinquents to juſtice [2]; or, in other words, to abandon himſelf and his friends to the mercy of his enemies.

HOPING that the people were now fully convinced of the inſolence of the parliament, and its averſion againſt peace, the king made vigorous preparations for war. Aware, however, that he was not yet able to oppoſe the parliamentary army, which was commanded by the earl of Eſſex, he left Nottingham, and retired, by ſlow marches, firſt to Derby, and afterward to Shrewſbury. At Wellington, in that neighbourhood, he collected his forces, and made the following declaration before the whole army: "I do promiſe, in the pre-"ſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his bleſſ-"ing and protection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my "power, defend and maintain the true reformed Pro-

1. Clarendon, vol. iii. 2. Ruſhworth, vol. v.

PART II. A. D. 1642.

"teſtant religion, eſtabliſhed in the church of England; "and, by the grace of God, in the ſame will live and "die.

"I DESIRE that the laws may ever be the meaſure "of my government, and that the liberty and property "of the ſubject may be preſerved by them with the ſame "care as my own juſt right; and if it pleaſe God, by "his bleſſing on this army, raiſed for my neceſſary de- "fence, to preſerve me from the preſent rebellion, I do "ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, in the ſight of God, "to maintain the juſt privileges and freedom of parlia- "ment, and to govern, to the utmoſt of my power, by "the known ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the kingdom; and, "particularly, to obſerve inviolably the laws to which I "have given my conſent this parliament. Meanwhile, "if this emergency, and the great neceſſity to which I "am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it will "be imputed by God and man, to the authors of this "war; not to me, who have ſo earneſtly laboured to "preſerve the peace of the kingdom [3]."

THIS declaration, which was conſidered as a ſacred engagement on the part of the king, was received with the warmeſt expreſſions of approbation and gratitude, by the generous train of nobility and gentry by whom he was attended; and who, in the hope of his ſubmitting to a legal and limited government, had alone been induced to take the field, with a reſolution of ſacrificing their lives and fortunes in his defence. They were in general no leſs animated with the ſpirit of liberty than of loyalty, and held in contempt the high monarchical principles.

CHARLES was received at Shrewſbury with marks of duty and affection; and his army increaſed ſo faſt,

3. Clarendon, vol. iii.

while

while it lay there, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men. With theſe he reſolved to give battle to the army of the parliament, as he heard it was daily augmented with recruits from London. He accordingly directed his march toward the capital, in order to bring on an engagement. Eſſex was prepared to oppoſe him. The two armies met on Edgehill, near Keinton, in Warwickſhire, where a deſperate battle was fought. The earl of Lindſay was general of the royal army; prince Rupert, ſon of the unfortunate elector Palatine, commanded the horſe; Sir Jacob Aſtley the foot; Sir Arthur Aſton the dragoons; Sir John Heydon the artillery; and lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards, whoſe eſtates, according to the computation of lord Clarendon, were equal in value to thoſe of all the members who, at the commencement of hoſtilities, voted againſt the king in both houſes of parliament. Eſſex drew up his army with judgment; but in conſequence of the deſertion of a troop of horſe, under Sir Faithful Forteſcue, and the furious ſhock made upon them by prince Rupert, his whole left wing of cavalry immediately gave way, and was purſued two miles. Nor did better fortune attend the right wing of the parliamentary army, which was alſo broken and put to flight.

LETTER VI.

A.D. 1642. Oct. 23.

THE victory muſt now have been deciſive in favour of the royaliſts, had not the king's body of reſerve, commanded by Sir John Biron heedleſsly joined in the purſuit. The advantage, afforded by this imprudence, being perceived by Sir William Balfour, who commanded Eſſex's reſerve, he immediately wheeled about upon the king's infantry, now quite deſtitute of horſe, and made great havock among them. Lord Lindſay, the general, was mortally wounded, and taken priſoner; and his ſon, in endeavouring to reſcue him, fell likewiſe into

PART II. A. D. 1642.

into the enemy's hands. Sir Edward Verney, who carried the king's ſtandard, was killed; the ſtandard was taken, and the king himſelf was in danger. The ſtandard was afterward recovered by the valour of captain John Smith, but the ſituation of affairs was not changed. Every thing on the return of prince Rupert, wore the appearance of a defeat, rather than of a complete victory, which he thought had been gained. His troops were too much fatigued to renew the charge, and the enemy did not provoke him to it, though both parties faced each other for ſome time. All night they lay on their arms, and next morning drew off, by a kind of mutual conſent, neither ſide having ſpirit for a freſh action. Eſſex retired to Warwick caſtle, and the king returned to his former quarters, near Bambury. Five thouſand men were found dead on the field, and the loſs of the two armies, from comparing oppoſite accounts, appears to have been nearly equal. The troops of both parties ſuffered much by cold during the night after the engagement.

THOUGH this firſt battle was ſo little deciſive, that the parliament claimed the victory as well as the king, it was of great ſervice to the royal cauſe. Charles immediately made himſelf maſter of Bambury; and, as ſoon as his army was recruited and refreſhed, he advanced to Reading: the governor and garriſon of which place, on the approach of a detachment of Royaliſts, had fled with precipitation to London. The capital was ſtruck with terror, and the parliament voted an addreſs for a treaty; but as no ceſſation for hoſtilities had been agreed on, the king continued to advance, and took poſſeſſion of Brentford. By this time Eſſex had reached London, and the declining ſeaſon put a ſtop to farther operations[5].

4. May, book iii. Clarendon, vol. iii. 5. Whitlocke, p. 60.

DURING

LETTER VI.

A. D. 1643.

DURING the winter, the king and parliament were employed in real preparation for war, but in ſeeming advances toward peace. Oxford, where the king reſided, was choſen as the place of treaty. Thither the parliament ſent their requiſitions by the earl of Northumberland, and four members of the lower houſe, who acted as commiſſioners. They abated ſomewhat of thoſe extravagant demands they had formerly made; but their claims were ſtill too high to admit of an amicable accommodation, unleſs the king had been willing to renounce the moſt eſſential branches of his prerogative. Beſide other humiliating articles, they required him, in expreſs terms, utterly to aboliſh epiſcopacy; a demand which before they had only inſinuated. They inſiſted, that he ſhould ſubmit to the puniſhment of his moſt faithful ſervants: and they deſired him to acquieſce in their ſettlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire power of the ſword[6]. The negociation, as may be naturally ſuppoſed, ſerved only for a time to amuſe both parties.

MEANWHILE each county, each town, and almoſt each family, was divided within itſelf, and the moſt violent convulſions ſhook the whole kingdom. Continual efforts were every where made, by both parties, to ſurmount each other, even after the ſeaſon of action was over. The earl of Newcaſtle, who commanded for the king in Yorkſhire, gained ſeveral advantages over the parliamentary forces, and eſtabliſhed the royal authority in all the northern counties. Actions ſtill more memorable were performed in the ſouth and weſt. Sir William Waller, who began now to diſtinguiſh himſelf among the generals of the parliament, defeated lord Herbert near Glouceſter, and took the city of Hereford. On the other ſide, Sir Ralph Hopton made himſelf maſ-

6. Clarendon, vol. iii. Ruſhworth, vol. vi.

ter

PART. II. A. D. 1643.

ter of Launceſton, and reduced all Cornwall to peace and obedience under the king [7].

EARLY in the ſpring Reading was beſieged, and taken by the parliamentary army, commanded by the earl of Eſſex. Being joined ſoon after by the forces under Sir William Waller, Eſſex marched toward Oxford, with a view of attacking the king, who was ſuppoſed to be in great diſtreſs for want of ammunition. But Charles, informed of his deſign, and of the looſe diſpoſition of his forces, diſpatched prince Rupert with a party of horſe to annoy them; and that gallant leader, who was perfectly fitted for ſuch a ſervice, falling ſuddenly upon the diſperſed bodies of Eſſex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry, and one of infantry, and carried his ravages almoſt to the general's quarters at Tame. Eſſex took the alarm, and diſpatched part of his cavalry in purſuit of the prince. They were joined by a regiment of infantry, under the famous John Hambden, who had acted as a colonel from the beginning of the civil war, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs in the field than in the ſenate. On the ſkirts of Calſgravefield, they overtook the Royaliſts, who were loaded with booty. The prince wheeled about, however, and charged them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were obliged to ſave themſelves by flight, after having loſt ſome of their beſt officers; and, among the reſt, the much valued, and much dreaded Hambden, who was mortally wounded, and died ſoon after in great agonies [8]. He is ſaid to have received his wound by the burſting of one of his own piſtols.

THE royal cauſe was ſupported with no leſs ſpirit in the weſtern counties. The king's adherents in Corn-

7. Clarendon, vol. iii.

8. Warwick's Memoirs.

wall,

wall, notwithſtanding their early ſucceſſes, had been obliged to enter into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonſhire. This neutrality laſted during the winter, but was broken in the ſpring, by the authority of the parliament; and the earl of Stamford having aſſembled an army of near ſeven thouſand men, well ſupplied with money, ammunition, and proviſions, entered Cornwall, and advanced upon the Royaliſts, who were not half his number, and oppreſſed by every kind of neceſſity. He encamped on the top of a hill, near Stratton, and detached Sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred horſe, to ſurpriſe Bodmin. The Corniſh Royaliſts, commanded by the principal men of the county, ſeized this opportunity of extricating themſelves, by one vigorous effort, from all the dangers and difficulties with which they were ſurrounded. They boldly advanced up the hill, on which Stamford was encamped, in four different diviſions; and, after an obſtinate ſtruggle, ſtill preſſing nearer and nearer, all met upon the plain at the top, where they embraced with great joy, and ſignalized their victory with loud ſhouts and mutual congratulations [9].

A. D. 1644.

May 16.

THE attention of both parties was now turned toward the Weſt. The king ſent the marquis of Hertford, and prince Maurice, brother to prince Rupert, with a reinforcement of cavalry into Cornwall. Being joined by the Corniſh army, they ſoon over-ran the county of Devon, and advancing into Somerſetſhire, began to reduce it alſo to obedience. In the mean time, the parliament having ſupplied Sir William Waller, in whom they had great confidence, with a complete army, diſpatched him into the ſame county, in order to

9. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii.

PART II. A. D. 1643.

check the progreſs of the Royaliſts, and retrieve their affairs in that quarter. After ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which the Royaliſts had the advantage, the two armies met at Lanſdown-hill, which Waller had fortified. There a pitched battle was fought, with great loſs on both ſides, but without any deciſive advantage; for although the Royaliſts, after an obſtinate engagement, gained the top of the hill, and beat the enemy from their ground, the fugitives took refuge behind a ſtone-wall, where they maintained their poſt till night, and then retired to Bath, under cover of the darkneſs [10].

HERTFORD and Maurice, diſappointed of the ſucceſs they had promiſed themſelves, attempted to march eaſtward, and join the king at Oxford. But Waller hung on their rear, and harraſſed their army until they reached the Deviſes. There being reinforced with a large body of freſh troops, he ſo much ſurpaſſed the royaliſts in numbers, that they durſt no longer continue their march, or expoſe themſelves to the hazard of a battle. It was therefore reſolved, that the marquis and the prince ſhould proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the royal army, ſhould haſten back to the relief of their friends.

WALLER was now ſo confident of capturing the infantry left at the Deviſes, that he wrote to the parliament their work was done; and that he ſhould, in his next letter, inform them of the number and quality of the priſoners. But the king, even before the arrival of Hertford and Maurice, informed of the difficulties to

10. Id. ibid. This battle would have been more deciſive, had Waller not been reinforced with five hundred cavalry from London, completely covered with cuiraſſes, and other defenſive armour. Theſe cuiraſſiers were generally found to be irreſiſtible.

which

which his weſtern army was reduced, had diſpatched a body of cavalry to their relief, under lord Wilmot. In order to prevent the intended junction, Waller drew up his army on Roundway-down, about two miles from the town of Deviſes; and Wilmot, in hopes of being ſupported by the infantry, did not decline the combat. Waller's cavalry, after a ſmart action, were totally routed, and he himſelf fled with a few horſe to Briſtol; while the victorious Wilmot, being joined by the Corniſh infantry, attacked the enemy's foot with ſuch impetuoſity, that almoſt the whole body was either killed or taken priſoners [16]. LETTER VI. A.D. 1643.

THIS important victory, preceded by ſo many other ſucceſſes, ſtruck great diſmay into the parliament, and gave an alarm to their grand army, commanded by the earl of Eſſex. Farther diſcouraged, by hearing of the queen's arrival at Oxford, with ammunition and artillery; and that, having landed in Burlington-Bay, ſhe had brought from the North a reinforcement of three thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, Eſſex left Theme and Ayleſbury, where he had hitherto lain, and retired to the neighbourhood of London. Freed from this principal enemy, the king ſent his main army weſtward, under prince Rupert: and by the junction of that army with the Corniſh Royaliſts, under the marquis of Hertford, a formidable force was compoſed; a force reſpectable from numbers, but ſtill more from valour and reputation.

IN hopes of profiting by the conſternation into which Waller's defeat and the retreat of Eſſex had thrown the parliamentary party, prince Rupert reſolved to under-

16. Clarendon, vol. iii. Ruſhworth, vol. vi.

PART II. A. D. 1643.

take an enterprize worthy of the army with which he was entruſted. He accordingly advanced toward Briſtol, the ſecond city in the kingdom for riches and ſize. The place was in a good poſture of defence, and had a garriſon of three thouſand five hundred men, well ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions; but as the fortifications were found to be not perfectly regular, it was reſolved in a council of war, to proceed by aſſault, though little proviſion had been made for ſuch an operation. The Corniſh men, in three diviſions, attacked the weſt ſide, with a courage which nothing could repreſs, or for a time reſiſt; but ſo great was the diſadvantage of ground, and ſo brave the defence of the garriſon, that although the middle diviſion had already mounted the walls, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the aſſailants were in the end repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter, and with the loſs of many gallant officers. On the eaſt ſide, where the approach was leſs difficult, prince Rupert had better ſucceſs. After an obſtinate ſtruggle, a lodgment was made within the enemy's works; and Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, ſon of lord Say, a noted parliamentary leader, ſurrendered the place at diſcretion. He and his garriſon were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, but without their colours [12].

THE taking of Briſtol was a ſevere blow to the power of the parliament; and if the king, who ſoon after joined the camp, had boldly marched to London, before the fears of the people had time to ſubſide, as he was adviſed by the more daring ſpirits, the war might in all probability have been finiſhed equally to his honour and advantage. But this undertaking was judged too hazardous, on account of the number and force of the London militia; and Glouceſter, lying within twenty

12. Clarendon, vol. iii. Ruſhworth, vol. vi.

miles

miles of his late conqueſt, ſeemed to preſent to Charles an eaſier, and yet an important acquiſition. It would put the whole courſe of the Severn under his command, open a communication between Wales and the weſtern counties, and free one half the kingdom from the dominion of the enemy [13]. A.D. 1643

THESE were the king's reaſons for undertaking the ſiege of Glouceſter in preference to any other enterprize. Before he left Briſtol, however, he ſent prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonſhire; and, in order to ſhew that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, nor provoked to aſpire at a total victory over the parliament, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he renewed the ſolemn proteſtation he had formerly made at the head of his army, and expreſſed his earneſt deſire of making peace, as ſoon as the conſtitution could be re-eſtabliſhed [14].

BEFORE this manifeſto was iſſued, a bold attempt had been made to reſtore peace to the kingdom, by the celebrated Edmund Waller, ſo well known as a poet, and who was no leſs diſtinguiſhed as an orator. He ſtill continued to attend his duty in parliament, and had exerted all his eloquence in oppoſing thoſe violent counſels, by which the commons were governed; and, in order to catch the attention of the houſe, he had often, in his harangues, employed the keeneſt ſatire and invective. But finding all oppoſition within doors to be fruitleſs, he conceived the idea of forming a party without, which might oblige the parliament to accept reaſonable conditions. Having founded the earl of Northumberland, and other eminent perſons, whoſe confidence he enjoyed, he was encouraged to open his ſcheme

13. May, book iii. Whitlocke, p. 69. 14. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1643.

to Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and to Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, who had entertained ſimilar ſentiments. By theſe gentlemen, whoſe connexions lay chiefly in the city, he was informed, that the ſame abhorrence of war there prevailed among all men of ſenſe and moderation. It therefore ſeemed not impracticable, that a combination might be formed between the peers and citizens, to refuſe payment of the illegal and oppreſſive taxes, impoſed by the parliament without the royal aſſent. But while this affair was in agitation, and liſts were making out of ſuch noblemen as the confederates believed to be well affected to their deſign, it was betrayed to Pym, by a ſervant of Tomkins, who had overheard their diſcourſe. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner, were immediately ſeized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all three condemned, and Tomkins and Chaloner were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors; but Waller ſaved his life by counterfeiting ſorrow and remorſe, by bribing the puritanical clergy, and by paying a fine of ten thouſand pounds [15].

THE diſcovery of this project, and the ſeverity exerciſed againſt the perſons concerned in it, could not fail to increaſe the authority of the parliament; yet ſo great was the conſternation occaſioned by the progreſs of the king's arms, the taking of Briſtol, and the ſiege of Glouceſter, that the cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. A multitude of women, with a petition for this purpoſe, crowded about the houſe of commons, and were ſo clamorous, that orders were given for diſperſing them; and a troop of horſe being employed in that ſervice, ſeveral of the women were killed and wounded. Many of the popular noblemen had deſerted the parliament, and gone to Oxford. Nor-

15. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii.

thumberland

thumberland retired to his country ſeat; and Eſſex himſelf, extremely diſſatisfied, exhorted the parliament to think of peace. The houſe of lords ſent down terms of accommodation, more moderate than any that had hitherto been offered: a vote was even paſſed, by a majority of the commons, that theſe propoſals ſhould be tranſmitted to the king. But this pleaſing proſpect was ſoon darkened. The zealous republicans took the alarm: a petition againſt peace was framed in the city, and preſented to the parliament by Pennington, the factious lord-mayor. The pulpits thundered their anathemas againſt malignants; rumours of popiſh conſpiracies were ſpread; and the majority being again turned towards the violent ſide, all thoughts of pacification were baniſhed, and every preparation made for war, and for the immediate relief of Glouceſter [16]. LETTER VI. A. D. 1643

THAT city was defended by a numerous garriſon, and by a multitude of fanatical inhabitants, zealous for the crown of martyrdom. Maſſey, the governor, was a ſoldier of fortune, and by his courage and ability had much retarded the advances of the king's army. Though no enthuſiaſt himſelf, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit which prevailed among the ſoldiers and citizens. By continual ſallies, he moleſted the Royaliſts in their trenches: he gained ſudden advantages over them; and he repreſſed their ardour, by diſputing every inch of ground. The garriſon, however, was reduced to the laſt extremity; when Eſſex, advancing to its relief, with a well appointed army of fourteen thouſand men, obliged the king to raiſe the ſiege, and threw into the city a ſupply of ammunition and proviſions [17].

CHAGRINED at the miſcarriage of his favourite enterprize, and determined to intercept Eſſex in his return,

16. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. 17. Clarendon, vol. iii.

PART II. A. D. 1643.

the king, by haſty marches, took poſſeſſion of Newbury, before the arrival of the parliamentary army. An action was now unavoidable; and Eſſex, conſcious of his inferiority in cavalry, drew up his forces on an advanced ground, called Brig's-Hill, within a mile of the town. Sept. 20. The battle was begun by the Royaliſts, and fought with ſteady and deſperate courage on both ſides. Eſſex's horſe were ſeveral times broken by the king's, but his infantry maintained their ground; and, beſide keeping up a conſtant fire, they preſented an invincible rampart of pikes againſt all the furious ſhocks of prince Rupert, and thoſe gallant troops of gentlemen, of which the royal cavalry was chiefly compoſed. Night at laſt put an end to the combat, and left the victory undecided. Next morning Eſſex purſued his march; and although his rear was ſeverely harraſſed by prince Rupert, he reached London without loſing either his cannon or baggage. The king followed him; and taking poſſeſſion of Reading, there eſtabliſhed a garriſon, to be a kind of curb upon the capital [18].

THOUGH the king's loſs, in this battle, was not very conſiderable with reſpect to numbers, his cauſe ſuffered greatly, by the death of ſome gallant noblemen. Beſide the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, who had ſerved their royal maſter with courage and ability in the field, fell Lucius Cary, viſcount Falkland, no leſs eminent in the cabinet; the object of univerſal admiration while living, and of regret when dead. Devoted to the purſuits of learning, and fond of polite ſociety, he had abſtracted himſelf from politics till the aſſembling of the preſent parliament; when, deeming it criminal any longer to remain inactive, he ſtood foremoſt in all attacks upon the high prerogatives of the crown, and diſplayed, with a bold freedom, that warm love of liberty

18. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii.

and

and maſculine eloquence, which he had imbibed from the ſublime writers of antiquity. But no ſooner did he perceive the purpoſe of the popular leaders, than tempering the ardour of his zeal, he attached himſelf to his ſovereign; and, convinced that regal authority was already ſufficiently reduced, he embraced the defence of thoſe limited powers that remained to it, and which he thought neceſſary to the ſupport of the Engliſh conſtitution. Still, however, anxious for the liberties of his country, he ſeems to have dreaded the deciſive ſucceſs even of the royal party; and the word PEACE was often heard to break from his lips, accompanied with a ſigh. Though naturally of a gay and chearful diſpoſition, he became from the commencement of the civil war, ſilent and melancholy, neglecting even a decent attention to his perſon; but on the morning of the battle of Newbury, as if he had foreſeen his fate, he dreſſed himſelf with his uſual elegance and neatneſs, giving as a reaſon for ſo doing, his deſire that the *enemy* might not find his *body* in a *ſlovenly condition*. "I am weary of the times," added he, "and foreſee much miſery to my "country; but believe I ſhall be out of it before "night[19]!" He charged in the front of Byron's regiment, and was ſhot in the belly. LETTER VI. A.D. 1643.

THE ſhock which both armies had received in the battle of Newbury, diſcouraged them from any ſecond trial of ſtrength before the cloſe of the campaign; and the declining ſeaſon ſoon obliged them to retire into winter-quarters. There we muſt leave them for a time, and take a view of the progreſs of the war in other parts of the kingdom, and of the meaſures purſued by both parties for acquiring a ſuperiority.

19. Whitlocke, P. 70. Clarendon, vol. iii.

IN

PART II. A. D. 1643.

In the northern counties, during the ſummer, the marquis of Newcaſtle, by his extenſive influence, had raiſed a conſiderable force for the king: and high hopes were entertained of ſucceſs from the known loyalty and abilities of that nobleman. But in oppoſition to him appeared two men, on whom the fortune of the war was finally to depend, and who began about this time to be diſtinguiſhed by their valour and military talents; namely, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell. The former, ſon of lord Fairfax, put to flight a party of royaliſts at Wakefield, and the latter obtained a victory over another party at Gainſborough. But the total rout of lord Fairfax, at Atherton, more than balanced both thoſe defeats; and the marquis of Newcaſtle, with an army of fifteen thouſand men, ſat down before Hull, into which the elder Fairfax had thrown himſelf with the remnant of his broken forces [20].

After having carried on the attack of Hull for ſome time without effect, Newcaſtle was beat off by an unexpected ſally of the garriſon; and ſuffered ſo much in the action, that he thought proper to raiſe the ſiege. About the ſame time, the earl of Mancheſter, having advanced from the eaſtern aſſociated counties, and formed a junction with Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a conſiderable advantage over the Royaliſts at Horn Caſtle [21]. But notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, the royal party ſtill retained great intereſt in the northern counties;

20. Lord Fairfax was appointed governor of this place in the room of Sir John Hotham. That gentleman and his ſon, repenting of their engagements with the parliamentary party, had entered into a correſpondence with the marquis of Newcaſtle, and expreſſed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands for the king. But their purpoſe being diſcovered, they were arreſted, and ſent priſoners to London; where, without any regard to their former ſervices, they fell victims to the ſeverity of the parliament. Ruſhworth, vol. vi.

21. Warwick. Walker.

and

and had Yorkſhire not been kept in awe by the garriſon of Hull, a junction of the northern and ſouthern armies might have been effected, and the king had perhaps been enabled to terminate the war with the campaign. LETTER VI. A. D. 1643.

THE proſpect was now very different. Alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the king's forces, during the early part of the ſummer, the Engliſh parliament had ſent commiſſioners to Edinburgh, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottiſh nation. The Scots who, not ſatisfied with having obtained the eſtabliſhment of the Preſbyterian religion in their own country, ſtill indulged an ardent paſſion for propagating that religion in the neighbouring kingdom, declared themſelves ready to aſſiſt their brethren of England; and propoſed, that the two nations ſhould enter into a Covenant for the extirpation of prelacy, and a more intimate union of the Engliſh and Scottiſh parliaments. By the addreſs of the younger Sir Henry Vane, who took the lead among the Engliſh commiſſioners, was accordingly framed at Edinburgh the famous SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

A COPY of that Covenant was tranſmitted to the two houſes of parliament at Weſtminſter, where it was received without oppoſition; and after being ſubſcribed by the lords, the commons, and an aſſembly of divines, it was ordered to be received by all who lived under their authority. The ſubſcribers, beſides engaging mutually to defend each other againſt all opponents, bound themſelves to endeavour the extirpation of popery and prelacy, ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, and defend his majeſty's perſon and authority; to diſcover and bring to juſtice all incendiaries and malignants; to humble themſelves for their ſins, amend their lives, and

PART II. A.D. 1643. and vie with each other in the great work of reformation [22].

THE Scots were elated at the thought of being the happy inſtruments of extending, what they believed to be the only true religion, and of diſſipating that profound darkneſs in which they ſuppoſed all other nations involved. The general aſſembly applauded the pious League, and every one was ordered by the convention of eſtates, to ſwear to the Covenant, under penalty of confiſcation; beſides what farther puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe the parliament to inflict on the diſobedient, as enemies to God, the king, and the kingdom!—Flaming with holy zeal, and determined that the ſword ſhould carry conviction to all refractory minds, the Scottiſh Covenanters now prepared themſelves with vigour for military ſervice. An hundred thouſand pounds, remitted from England, enabled them to complete their levies; and, having added to their other forces a body of troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were ſoon ready to enter England with an army of twenty thouſand men [23].

22. Whitlocke, p. 73. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii. The ſubſcribers to the Covenant vowed alſo to preſerve the reformed religion eſtabliſhed in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of Sir Henry Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with reſpect to England and Ireland, than that theſe kingdoms ſhould be reformed according to the word of God, and the *example* of the *pureſt churches*. (Id. ibid.) The Scottiſh zealots, when prelacy was aboliſhed, deemed theſe expreſſions quite free from ambiguity, conſidering their own mode of worſhip, as the only one which correſponded in any degree to ſuch a deſcription. But Vane had other views. That able politician, even while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the Preſbyterians, and ſecretly laughed at their ſimplicity as well as at their fanaticiſm, had blindly devoted himſelf to wilder and more dangerous opinions, which he hoped to diffuſe and eſtabliſh.

23. Clarendon, vol. iii.

IN

LETTER VI.

A. D. 1643

In order to ſecure himſelf againſt this gathering tempeſt, which he foreſaw it would be impoſſible to diſpel, the king turned his eye toward Ireland. The Engliſh parliament, to whoſe care the ſuppreſſion of the Iriſh rebellion was committed, had never taken any effectual meaſures for that purpoſe; yet the remaining Proteſtants, who were now all become ſoldiers, joined with ſome new adventurers, under lord More, Sir William St. Leger, Sir Frederic Hamilton, and others, had in many rencounters put the Catholics to flight, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels had been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Drogheda, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts. The marquis of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant, had obtained two complete victories over them, and had brought relief to all the forts that were beſieged or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom. But the Iriſh Catholics, in their wild rage againſt the Britiſh planters, having laid waſte the whole cultivated part of the country, the victorious Proteſtants were in want of the moſt common neceſſaries of life; and as the king had it not in his power to relieve them, by ſending money or proviſions into Ireland, he reſolved to embrace an expedient, which would enable them to provide for their own ſupport, and at the ſame time contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. He accordingly gave orders to the lord-lieutenant and the chief juſtices, who were entirely in his intereſt, to conclude a truce, for one year, with the council of the rebels at Kilkenny; and afterward to tranſport part of the Proteſtant army over to England [24].

24. Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. Some Iriſh Catholics came over with the Proteſtants, and joined the royal army, where they continued the ſame cruelties and diſorders to which they had been accuſtomed: (Whitlocke, p. 78) and the parliament voted, that no quarter, in any action, ſhould ever be given to them. But prince Rupert, by ſevere retaliation, ſoon put a ſtop to this inhumanity. Ruſhworth, vol. vi.

PART II. A. D. 1643.

THE parliament, whoſe buſineſs it was to find fault with every meaſure adopted by the king, did not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of reproaching him with favouring the Iriſh Papiſts. They exclaimed loudly againſt the truce, affirming, that England might juſtly dread the divine vengeance for tolerating antichriſtian idolatry, under pretence of civil contracts and political expediency[25]! And the forces brought from Ireland, though the cauſe of ſo much odium, were of but little ſervice to the royal party. Being landed at Moſtyne, in North Wales, and put under the command of lord Byron, they beſieged and took the caſtle of Hawarden, Beeſton, Acton, and Deddington-houſe: but a ſtop was ſoon put to their career of glory. Elated with ſucceſs, and entertaining the moſt profound contempt for the parliamentary forces, they ſat down before Namptwich, in the depth of winter. This was the only place that now adhered to the parliament in Cheſhire or its neighbourhood. Its importance was well known, and conſequently the neceſſity of attempting its relief. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at the progreſs of the Royaliſts in this quarter, accordingly aſſembled in Yorkſhire an army of four thouſand men; and having joined Sir William Brereton, ſuddenly attacked Byron's camp. The ſwelling of the river Wever by a thaw, had divided one part of the royal army from the other, and the whole was routed and diſperſed[26].

A. D. 1644. Jan. 16.

THE invaſion from Scotland, in favour of the parliament, was attended with more momentous conſequences. The Scottiſh army, under the command of the earl of Leven, having ſummoned the town of Newcaſtle without effect, paſſed the Tyne, and faced the marquis of Newcaſtle, who lay at Durham, with an

25. Id. ibid.

26. Ruſhworth, ubi ſup.

army

army of fourteen thouſand men. The marquis did not decline the challenge; but before any action took place, he received intelligence of the return of Sir Thomas Fairfax, with his victorious forces, from Cheſhire. Afraid of being incloſed between two armies, he retreated to York; and Leven having joined Fairfax, they ſat down before that city. The earl of Mancheſter arrived ſoon after with an acceſſion of force; and York, though vigorouſly defended by the marquis of Newcaſtle, was ſo cloſely beſieged by theſe combined armies, and reduced to ſuch extremity, that the parliamentary generals flattered themſelves with a ſpeedy conqueſt. LETTER VI. A. D. 1644.

A SIEGE of ſo much importance rouſed the ſpirit of prince Rupert. By exerting himſelf vigorouſly in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, he collected a conſiderable army; and being joined by Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcaſtle's horſe, he haſtened to the relief of York with an army of twenty thouſand men. The Scottiſh and parliamentary generals, on his approach, immediately raiſed the ſiege, and drew up their forces on Marſton-moor, where they propoſed to give battle to the Royaliſts. Prince Rupert entered the town by another quarter, and ſafely joined his forces to thoſe of Newcaſtle, by interpoſing the river Ouſe between him and the enemy. Having ſo ſucceſsfully effected his purpoſe, the prince ought to have remained ſatisfied with his good fortune. The marquis was ſenſible of it, and endeavoured, by many arguments, to perſuade him to decline a battle; but eſpecially as the Scottiſh and Engliſh armies were at variance, and muſt ſoon ſeparate of their own accord, while a few days would bring him a reinforcement of ten thouſand men.

THAT violent partizan, however, whoſe martial diſpoſition was not ſufficiently tempered with prudence, or ſoftened

PART II. A. D. 1644.

ſoftened by complaiſance, treated this advice with contempt; and without deigning to conſult Newcaſtle, who had long been the chief prop of the royal cauſe in the North, he imperiouſly iſſued orders for battle, and led out the army to Marſton-moor. The marquis refuſed to take any ſhare in the command, but behaved gallantly as a volunteer. Fifty thouſand Britiſh troops were, on this occaſion, led to mutual ſlaughter. The numbers on each ſide were nearly equal, and victory continued long undecided. At length lieutenant-general Cromwell, who conducted the prime troops of the parliament, having broken the right wing of the Royaliſts, led by prince Rupert, returned from the purſuit, and determined a conteſt, which before ſeemed doubtful. Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded the left wing of the royaliſts, and who had put the right wing of the parliamentary army to flight, being ignorant of the fortune of the day in other quarters, was ſurpriſed to ſee, that he muſt again renew, with this determined leader, the combat for victory. Nor was Cromwell a little diſappointed to find, that the battle was yet to be gained. The ſecond engagement was no leſs furious than the firſt. All the hoſtile paſſions that can inflame civil or religious diſcord, were awakened in the breaſts of the two parties; but, after the utmoſt efforts of courage by both, ſucceſs turned wholly to the ſide of the parliament. The king's artillery was taken, and his army puſhed off the field [27].

THE loſs of this battle was, in itſelf, a ſevere blow to the royal cauſe, and its conſequences were ſtill more fatal than could have been expected. The marquis of Newcaſtle, enraged to find all his ſucceſsful labours rendered abortive by one act of temerity, and frightened at the proſpect of renewing the deſperate ſtruggle, immediately left the kingdom in deſpair, and continued

27. Clarendon, vol. v. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. Whitlocke, p. 89.

abroad

abroad till the Reſtoration [28]. Prince Rupert, with the utmoſt precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired to Lancaſhire, inſtead of throwing himſelf into York, and waiting his Majeſty's orders; ſo that Glenham, the lieutenant-governor, was in a few days obliged to ſurrender that city [29]. Lord Fairfax, fixing his reſidence in York, eſtabliſhed his government over the whole neighbouring country; while the Scottiſh army marched northward, in order to join the earl of Calendar, who was advancing with ten thouſand additional forces, and having formed that junction, laid ſiege to Newcaſtle, and carried it by aſſault [30]. LETTER VI. A.D. 16

In the meantime, the king's affairs in the South, though there no leſs dangerous or critical, were conducted with more ability and ſucceſs. The parliament had made extraordinary exertions in that quarter. Two armies, of ten thouſand men each, were completed with all poſſible ſpeed; and Eſſex and Waller, the two generals, had orders to march with their combined forces toward Oxford, and attempt, by one enterprize to put an end to the war. Leaving a numerous garriſon in Oxford, the king paſſed with dexterity between the two

28. This nobleman, who was conſidered as the ornament of the court, and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his diſpoſition, by a high ſenſe of honour, and perſonal regard to his maſter, to take part in theſe military tranſactions. He diſregarded the dangers of war, but its anxieties and fatigues were oppreſſive to his natural indolence of temper. Liberal, polite, courteous, and humane, he brought a great acceſſion of friends to the royal party. But amidſt all the hurry of action, his inclinations were ſecretly drawn to the ſoft arts of peace, in which he took particular delight; and the charms of poetry, muſic, and converſation, ſtole him often from his rougher occupations. Though he lived abroad in extreme indigence, he diſdained, by ſubmiſſion or compoſition, to recognize the uſurped authority of the parliament, or look up to it for relief, but ſaw with indifference the ſequeſtration of his ample fortune. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

29. Ruſhworth, vol vi.

30. Whitlocke, p. 88.

PART II. armies, and marched towards Winchester. Essex gave orders to Waller to follow him, and watch his motions, while he himself marched to the West in quest of prince Maurice. But the king, eluding the vigilance of Waller, returned suddenly to Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, marched out in quest of his pursuer. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge, near Banbury. The Charwel ran between them; and the king, in order to draw Waller from his advantageous post, decamped next day, and marched toward Daventry. This movement had the desired effect. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to ford the river, while he himself passed the bridge with the main body, and fell upon the king's rear with his whole forces. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued back to the bridge with great slaughter [31].

A. D. 1644.

June 29.

THE king thought he might now safely leave the remains of Waller's army behind him, and march westward against Essex, who carried all before him in that quarter. He accordingly followed the parliamentary general; and Essex, convinced of his inferiority, retired into Cornwall, entreating the parliament to send an army to fall upon the king's rear. General Middleton was dispatched for that purpose, but came too late. Cooped up in a narrow corner at Liskwithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of relief, Essex's army was reduced to the greatest extremity. The king pressed them on one side, prince Maurice on another, and Sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex and some of his principal officers escaped in a boat to Plymouth, and Balfour, with the horse, having passed the

31. Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. v. Ruthven, a Scottish officer, who had been created earl of Brentford, attended the king as general in these operations.

king's out-posts in a thick fog, got safe to the parliamentary garrisons; but the foot, under Shippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, ammunition, and baggage [32]. LETTER VI. A.D. 1644.

By this surrender, which was no small cause of triumph to the Royalists, the king obtained what he stood much in need of; and yet his enemies were not materially injured, as the troops were preserved. In order to conceal their disgrace, the commons voted thanks to Essex for his courage and conduct; and having armed his troops anew, they ordered Manchester and Cromwell, as well as Waller and Middleton to join him, and offer battle to the king. Charles, having thrown succours into Dennington-castle, long besieged by the parliamentary forces, and knighted the governor for his gallant defence, had taken post at Newbury, where an obstinate battle, as we have seen, was formerly fought. There the generals of the parliament attacked him with great vigour; and the Royalists, though they defended themselves with their wonted valour, were at last overpowered by numbers. Night came seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total defeat. Leaving his cannon and baggage at Dennington-castle, the king retreated to Wallingford, and afterward to Oxford; where, being joined by prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton, with considerable bodies of cavalry, he ventured again to advance toward the enemy. They did not chuse to give him battle, though still greatly superior in forces; and the king had the satisfaction of bringing off his cannon from Dennington-castle, in the face of his adversaries, and of distributing his army into winter-quarters without molestation [33].

Oct. 27.

Nov. 23.

32. Whitlocke, p. 98. Clarendon, vol. v. Rushworth, vol. vi.
33. Rushworth, vol. vii.

DURING this ſeaſon of inaction, certain diſputes between the parliamentary generals, which are ſuppoſed to have diſturbed their military operations, were revived in London; and each being ſupported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accuſations agitated the whole city and parliament. The cauſe of theſe diſputes will require explication.

THERE had long prevailed among the Puritans, or parliamentary party, a ſecret diſtinction, which, though concealed for a time, by the dread of the king's power, began to diſcover itſelf in proportion as the hopes of ſucceſs became nearer, and at laſt broke forth in high conteſt and animoſity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had at firſt ſheltered themſelves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now openly appeared as a diſtinct party, actuated by different views and pretenſions. They rejected all eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, and would admit of no ſpiritual courts, no government among paſtors, nor any interpoſition of the magiſtrate in religious concerns. Each congregation, according to their principles, united voluntarily, and by ſpiritual ties, compoſed within itſelf a ſeparate church; and as the election of the congregation was alone ſufficient to beſtow the ſacerdotal character and office, to which no benefits were annexed, all eſſential diſtinction was denied between the laity and the clergy. No ceremony, no inſtitution, no impoſition of hands, was thought requiſite, as in every other church, to convey a right to holy orders; but the ſoldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the illapſes of the ſpirit, reſigned himſelf to an inward and ſuperior direction, and was conſecrated by a ſup-

poſed intercourſe and immediate communication with heaven [34]. LETTER VI. A.D. 1644.

NOR were the Independents leſs diſtinguiſhed from the Preſbyterians by their political than their religious principles. The Preſbyterians were only deſirous of reſtraining within narrow limits the prerogatives of the crown, and of reducing the king to the rank of firſt magiſtrate; but the Independents, more ardent in their purſuit of liberty, aſpired at a total abolition of the monarchical, and even of the ariſtocratical branch of the Engliſh conſtitution. They had projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic quite free and independent. Of courſe, they were declared enemies to all propoſals for peace; rigidly adhering to the maxim, that whoever draws his ſword againſt his ſovereign ſhould throw away the ſcabbard. And by widely diffuſing the apprehenſions of vengeance, they engaged multitudes who differed from them in opinion, both with reſpect to religion and government, to oppoſe all terms of pacification with their offended prince [35].

SIR Henry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, were conſidered as the leaders of the Independents. The earl of Northumberland proud of his rank, regarded with horror their ſcheme, which would confound the nobility with the meaneſt of the people. The earl of Eſſex, who began to foreſee the

34. Sir Ed. Walker's *Hiſt. of Independency*. Hume, vol. vii. The Independents were the firſt Chriſtian ſect, which, during its proſperity, as well as its adverſity, always adopted the principle of toleration. The reaſon aſſigned by Mr. Hume for this liberty of conſcience is truly ingenious. The mind, ſays he, ſet afloat in the wide ſea of inſpiration, could confine itſelf within no certain limits; and the ſame variations in which an enthuſiaſt indulged himſelf, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. *Hiſt. Eng.* vol. vii.

35. Id. ibid.

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pernicious conſequences of the war, adhered to the preſbyterians, and promoted every reaſonable plan of accommodation. The earls of Warwick and Denbigh, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Hollis, Maſſey, Whitlocke, Maynard, Glyn, and other eminent men, had embraced the ſame ſentiments; ſo that a conſiderable majority in parliament, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the preſbyterian party [36]. But the Independents, firſt by cunning and deceit, and afterward by violence, accompliſhed the ruin of their rivals, as well as of the royal cauſe.

PROVOKED at the impeachment which the king had lodged againſt him, the earl of Mancheſter had long forwarded the war with alacrity; but being a man of humanity and ſound principles, the view of the public calamities, and the proſpect of a total ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed government, began to moderate his ardour, and inclined him to promote peace on any ſafe and equitable terms. He was even ſuſpected, in the field, of not having puſhed to the utmoſt the advantages obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwell accuſed him, in the houſe of commons, of wilfully neglecting at Deddington-caſtle a favourable opportunity of finiſhing the war, by a total defeat of the Royaliſts. Mancheſter, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament, that Cromwell, on another occaſion, in order to induce him to embrace a ſcheme to which he thought the parliament would not agree, warmly ſaid, "My Lord, if you "will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you ſhall find yourſelf "at the head of an army, which ſhall give law both to "king and parliament [37]."—"This diſcourſe," continued Mancheſter, "made the greater impreſſion on me,

36. Hume, ubi ſup.

37. Clarendon, vol. v.

"beſides

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"because I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of "deep designs. And he has even ventured to tell me," added the earl, "that it would never be well with Eng- "land, till I was Mr. Montague, and there was ne'er a "a lord or peer in the realm [38]."

THESE violent dissensions brought matters to extremity between the two sects, and pushed the Independents to the immediate execution of their designs. The command of the sword was their grand object; and this they craftily obtained, under pretence of new modeling the army. The first intimation of such a measure, conformable to the genius of the hypocritical policy of that age, was communicated from the pulpit on a day of solemn humiliation and fasting, appointed through the influence of the Independents. All the reigning divisions in the parliament were ascribed, by the fanatical preachers, to the selfish ends pursued by the members; in whose hands, it was observed, were lodged all the considerable commands in the army, and all the lucrative offices in the civil administration. "It cannot be "expected," added these spiritual demagogues, "that "men, who fatten on the calamities of their country, "will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing "them to a period, or the war to a successful issue." The Independents in parliament caught the same tone, and represented the concurrence of so many godly men, in different congregations in lamenting ONE evil, as the effect of the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. Such, in particular, was the language of Sir Henry Vane; who, therefore, entreated the members, in vindication of their own honour, and in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aside all pri-

38. Id. ibid.

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vate views, and renounce every office attended with profit or advantage. Cromwell alſo acted his part to admiration. He declared, That until there was a perfect reformation in theſe particulars, nothing which they undertook could poſſibly proſper; for although the parliament, he added, had doubtleſs done wiſely on the commencement of hoſtilities, in engaging ſeveral of its members in the moſt dangerous military commands, in order to ſatisfy the nation that they intended to ſhare all hazards with the meaneſt of the people, affairs were now changed; and a change of meaſures, he affirmed, muſt take place, if they ever hoped to terminate the war to advantage [39].

On the other ſide, it was urged by the Preſbyterians, and particularly by Whitlocke, who endeavoured to ſhew the inconveniency, as well as danger of the projected alteration, That the rank poſſeſſed by ſuch as were members of either houſe of parliament prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders; that greater confidence might ſafely be repoſed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain views diſtinct from thoſe embraced by the perſons that employed them; that no maxim in policy was more undiſputed than the neceſſity of preſerving an inſeparable connection between the civil and military power, and of retaining the latter in ſtrict ſubordination to the former; that the Greeks and Romans, the wiſeſt politicians, and the moſt paſſionate lovers of liberty, had always entruſted to their ſenators the command of the armies of the ſtate; and that men, whoſe intereſts were involved with thoſe of the public, and who poſſeſſed a vote in civil deliberations, would alone ſufficiently reſpect the autho-

39. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. v.

rity

rity of the parliament, and never could be tempted turn the ſword againſt thoſe by whom it was committed to them [40]. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, a committee was appointed to frame what was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*; by which the members of both houſes were excluded from all civil and military employments, a few offices, which were ſpecified, excepted;—and through the envy of ſome, the falſe modeſty of others, and the republican and fanatical views of many, it at laſt received the ſanction of parliament.

In conſequence of this ordinance, Eſſex, Warwick, Mancheſter, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and others, reſigned their commands, and received the thanks of both houſes. Cromwell, who was a member of the lower houſe, ſhould alſo have been diſcarded; but this impartiality would have diſappointed the views of thoſe who had introduced the Self-denying Ordinance. Care was therefore taken, at the time the other officers reſigned their commiſſions, that he ſhould be ſent with a body of horſe to relieve Taunton, then beſieged by the Royaliſts. His abſence being remarked, orders were diſpatched for his immediate attendance in parliament. But Sir Thomas Fairfax, the new general, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, deſired leave to retain for a few days lieutenant-general Cromwell, whoſe advice, he wrote to the parliament, would be uſeful in ſupplying the place of thoſe officers who had reſigned: and ſhortly after he begged, with much earneſtneſs, that Cromwell might be permitted to ſerve during the enſuing campaign [41].

Thus, my dear Philip, the Independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the Preſ-

40. Whitlocke, p. 114, 115. Whitlocke, p. 141.

41. Clarendon, vol. v.

byterians;

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byterians; and beſtowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax, but in reality upon Cromwell. Fairfax, who was equally eminent for courage and humanity, ſincere in his profeſſions, diſintereſted in his views, and open in his conduct, would have formed one of the moſt ſhining characters of that age, had not the extreme narrowneſs of his genius, in every thing but war, diminiſhed the luſtre of his merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when veſted with the ſupreme command, but ſecondary and ſubordinate. Cromwell, by whoſe ſagacity and inſinuation the general was entirely governed, though naturally of an imperious and domineering temper, knew to employ, when neceſſary, the moſt profound diſſimulation, the moſt oblique and refined artifice, and the ſemblance of the greateſt moderation and ſimplicity. His vigorous capacity enabled him to form the deepeſt deſigns, and his enterpriſing ſpirit was not diſmayed at the boldeſt undertakings [42].

DURING this competition between the Preſbyterians and Independents, for power, both piouſly united in bringing to the block the venerable archbiſhop Laud, who had remained a priſoner ever ſince his firſt impeachment. He was now accuſed of high treaſon, in endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and of other high crimes and miſdemeanours. The ſame violence, and the ſame illegality of an accumulative crime and conſtructive evidence, which had appeared in the caſe of Strafford, were employed againſt Laud: yet, after a long trial, and the examination of above an hundred and fifty witneſſes, the commons found ſo little likelihood of obtaining a judicial ſentence againſt him, that they were obliged to have recourſe to

42. Hume, vol. vii.

their

their legiſlative authority, and to paſs an ordinance for taking away his life. "No one," ſaid the aged primate, "can be more willing to ſend me out of the world, than "I am deſirous to go." Seven peers only voted on this important queſtion, the reſt abſenting themſelves either from fear or ſhame [43]. LETTER VI. A.D. 1645

THIS new example of the vindictive ſpirit of the commons, promiſed little ſucceſs to the negociations for peace, which were ſoon after ſet on foot at Uxbridge; where ſixteen commiſſioners from the king, met with twelve authoriſed by the parliament, attended by ſome Scottiſh commiſſioners. It was agreed that the Scottiſh and parliamentary commiſſioners ſhould give in their demands with reſpect to three important articles; religion, the militia, and Ireland: and that theſe ſhould be ſucceſſively examined and diſcuſſed, in conferences with the king's commiſſioners [44]. But it was ſoon found impracticable to come to an agreement in regard to any of thoſe articles. Jan. 30.

BESIDES the inſuperable difficulties in regard to religion, the article of the militia was an eternal bar againſt all accommodation. The king's partizans had always maintained, that the fears and jealouſies of the parliament, after the effectual meaſures taken, in 1641, for the ſecurity of public liberty, were either feigned or groundleſs. Charles however offered, in order to cure their apprehenſions, that the arms of the ſtate ſhould be entruſted, during three years, to twenty commiſſioners, who ſhould be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by him, and the other by the parliament. But the parliamentary commiſſioners poſitively inſiſted on being en-

43. Warwick, p. 169. 44. Dugdale, p. 758. Whilocke, p. 121.

truſted

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truſted with the abſolute power of the ſword, for at leaſt ſeven years. This, they affirmed, was eſſential to their ſafety. On the other hand, the king's commiſſioners aſked, whether there was any equity in ſecuring only one party, and leaving the other, during the ſpace of ſeven years, entirely at the mercy of their enemies? And whether, if unlimited authority was entruſted to the parliament for ſo long a term, it would not be eaſy for them to keep for ever poſſeſſion of the ſword, as well as of every department of civil power and juriſdiction [45]? After the debates had been carried on to no purpoſe for twenty days, the commiſſioners ſeparated, and returned London and Oxford.

WHILE the king was thus endeavouring, though in vain, to bring about an accommodation with the Engliſh parliament, by the moſt humiliating conceſſions, ſome events happened in Scotland that ſeemed to promiſe a more proſperous iſſue to his declining affairs. James Graham, marquis of Montroſe, a man of a bold and generous ſpirit, filled with indignation to ſee the majority of two kingdoms conſpire againſt their lawful, and in many reſpects indulgent ſovereign, undertook by his own credit, and that of a few friends, who had not yet forgot their allegiance, to raiſe ſuch commotions in Scotland, as ſhould oblige the Covenanters to recall their forces. In this deſign he was aſſiſted by a body of the Macdonalds, who came over from Ireland to recover the country of Kintore, out of which they had been driven,

45. Dugdale, p. 877. The parliamentary commiſſioners were no leſs unreaſonable in regard to Ireland. They demanded, That the truce with the rebels ſhould be declared null; that the management of the war ſhould be given up entirely to the parliament; and after the conqueſt of Ireland, that the nomination of the lord-lieutenant and of the judges, or in other words, the ſovereignty of that kingdom, alſo ſhould remain in their hands. Ibid. p. 826.

about

about fifty years before, by the Argyle family. With theſe adventurers, who amounted to about twelve hundred, and eight hundred native Highlanders, very indifferently armed, he defeated an army of ſix thouſand Covenanters, under lord Elcho, near Perth, and killed two thouſand of them [46]. LETTER VI. A. D. 1645.

In conſequence of this victory, by which he acquired arms and ammunition, Montroſe was enabled to proſecute his enterprize, though not without incredible difficulties. The greater part of the low country Scots were extremely attached to the Covenant; and ſuch as bore affection to the royal cauſe were over-awed by the eſtabliſhed authority of the oppoſite party. But Montroſe, whoſe daring ſoul delighted in perilous undertakings, eluded every danger, and ſeized the moſt unexpected advantages. He retreated ſixty miles in the face of a ſuperior army without ſuſtaining any loſs: he took Dundee by aſſault, and defeated the marquis of Argyle at Innerlochy, after having gratified the Macdonalds with the pillage of that nobleman's country [47]. The power of the Campbels being thus broken, the Highlanders, who were in general well affected to the royal cauſe, joined Montroſe in more conſiderable bodies. By their aſſiſtance he ſucceſſively defeated Baillie and Urrey, two officers of reputation, ſent from England to cruſh him, and who were confident of victory from the ſuperiority of their numbers, as well as from the diſcipline of their troops. He defeated Baillie a ſecond time, with great ſlaughter, at Alford [48]. And the terror of his name, and the admiration of his valour being now great all over the north of Scotland, he ſummoned his

46. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. Wiſhart, chap. v.
47. Burnet, *Hiſt.* vol. i. Wiſhart, chap 10.
48. Ruſhworth, vol. viii. Whiſhart, chap. 11.

friends

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friends and partizans, and prepared himſelf for marching into the ſouthern provinces, in order there to reſtore the king's authority, and give a final blow to the power of the Covenanters.

BUT, unhappily for Charles, before Montroſe could carry his ſucceſs ſo far as to oblige the Covenanters to withdraw any part of their forces, events had taken place in England, which rendered the royal cauſe almoſt deſperate. In conſequence of the change in the formation of the parliamentary army, the officers, in moſt regiments, aſſumed the ſpiritual, as well as military command over their men. They ſupplied the place of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, occupied themſelves in ſermons, prayers, and pious exhortations. Theſe wild effuſions were miſtaken by the ſoldiers, and perhaps even by thoſe who uttered them, for divine illuminations; and gave new weight to the authority of the officers, and new energy to the valour of their troops. In marching to battle, they lifted up their ſouls to God in pſalms and hymns, and made the whole field reſound with ſpiritual as well as martial muſic [49]. The ſenſe of preſent danger was loſt in the proſpect of eternal felicity; wounds were eſteemed meritorious, in ſo holy a cauſe, and death martyrdom. Every one ſeemed animated, not with the vain idea of conqueſt, or the ambition of worldly greatneſs, but by the brighter hope of attaining, in heaven, an everlaſting crown of glory.

THE Royaliſts, ignorant of the influence of this enthuſiaſm, in rouſing the courage of their antagoniſts, treated it with contempt and ridicule. In the meantime, their own licentious conduct, if leſs ludicrous, was leſs becoming the character of ſoldiers or of citi-

49. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell.*

zens.

zens. More formidable even to their friends than to their enemies they in ſome places committed univerſal ſpoil and havock, and laid the country waſte by their undiſtinguiſhing rapine. So great, in a word, was the diſtreſs become, that many of the moſt devoted friends of the church and monarchy, now wiſhed for ſuch ſucceſs to the parliamentary forces, as might put a ſtop to theſe oppreſſions: and the depredations committed in Scotland, by the Highlanders under Montroſe made the approach of the royal army the object of terror to both parties, over the whole iſland [50].

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UNDER theſe diſadvantages, it was impoſſible for the king much longer to continue the war: the very licentiouſneſs of his own troops was ſufficient to ruin his cauſe. On the opening of the campaign, however, being joined by the princes Rupert and Maurice, he left Oxford with an army of fifteen thouſand men, determined to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow. The new-modelled parliamentary army, under Fairfax and Cromwell, was poſted at Windſor, and amounted to about twenty-two thouſand men. Yet Charles, in ſpite of their vigilance, effected the relief of Cheſter, which had long been blockaded by Sir William Brereton; and, in his return ſouthward, he took Leiceſter by ſtorm, after a furious aſſault, and gratified his ſoldiers with an immenſe booty. Fifteen hundred priſoners fell into his hands [51].

50. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. v. This licentiouſneſs was partly occaſioned by the want of pay; but other cauſes conſpired to carry it to its preſent degree of enormity. Prince Rupert, negligent of the intereſts of the people, and fond of the ſoldiery, had all along indulged them in unwarrantable liberties. Wilmot, a man of diſſolute manners, had promoted the ſame ſpirit of diſorder; and too many other commanders, Sir Richard Grenville, Goring, and Gerrard, improved on the pernicious example. Id. ibid.

51. Clarendon, vol. v.

ALARMED

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ALARMED at this ſucceſs, Fairfax, who had received orders from the parliament to beſiege Oxford during the king's abſence, immediately left that place, and marched to Leiceſter, with an intention of giving battle to the royal army. Charles, in the meantime was advancing toward Oxford, in order to raiſe the ſiege, which he apprehended was already in ſome forwardneſs; ſo that the two armies were within a few miles of each other, before they were aware of their danger. The king called a council of war; in which it was raſhly reſolved, through the influence of prince Rupert, and the impatient ſpirit of the nobility and gentry, immediately to engage Fairfax; though the Royaliſts had the proſpect of being ſoon reinforced with three thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, under experienced officers. They accordingly advanced upon the
June 14. parliamentary army, which was drawn up in order of battle on a riſing ground, in the neighbourhood of the village of Naſeby.

THE king himſelf commanded the main body of the royal army, prince Rupert the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. The main body of the parliamentary army was conducted by Fairfax, ſeconded by Skippon; the right wing by Cromwel; the left by Ireton, Cromwel's ſon-in-law. Prince Rupert began the charge with his uſual impetuoſity and ſucceſs. Ireton's whole wing was routed and chaſed off the field, and himſelf wounded and taken priſoner. The king led on his main body with firmneſs; and diſplayed, in the action, all the conduct of an experienced general, and all the courage of a gallant ſoldier. The parliamentary infantry were broken, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, and would have been totally routed, if the body of reſerve had not been brought to their relief. Meanwhile Cromwel, having broken the left wing of the Royaliſts,

Royaliſts, under Langdale, and purſued it a little way, returned upon the king's infantry, and threw them into confuſion. At length prince Rupert, who had imprudently waſted his time in a fruitleſs attempt to ſeize the enemy's artillery, joined the king with his cavalry, though too late to turn the tide of battle. "One charge "more," cried Charles, "and we recover the day!" But his troops, aware of the diſadvantage under which they laboured, could by no means be prevailed on to renew the combat. He was obliged to quit the field; and although the parliament had a thouſand, and he only eight hundred men ſlain, ſcarce any victory could be more complete. Near five thouſand of the Royaliſts were made priſoners, among whom were five hundred officers; and all the king's baggage, artillery, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the enemy [52].

52. Whitlocke, p. 145, 146. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. iv. Among other ſpoils, the king's cabinet fell into the hands of the enemy. It contained copies of his letters to the queen, which were afterward wantonly publiſhed by the parliament, accompanied with many malicious comments. They are written with delicacy and tenderneſs; and at worſt, only ſhew that he was too fondly attached to a woman of wit and beauty, who had the misfortune to be a papiſt, and who had acquired a dangerous aſcendant over him. She is certainly chargeable with ſome of his moſt unpopular, and even arbitrary meaſures.

LETTER VII.

ENGLAND *from the Battle of* NASEBY *to the Execution of* CHARLES I. *and the Subverſion of the Monarchy, in* 1649.

A.D. 1645. AFTER the battle of Naſeby, the king's affairs went ſo faſt to ruin in all quarters, that he ordered the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, to make his eſcape beyond ſea, and ſave at leaſt one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. The prince retired to Jerſey, and afterward to Paris, where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, at the the time the earl of Eſſex conducted the parliamentary army to the Weſt. The king himſelf retreated firſt to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained ſome time in Wales, in hopes of raiſing a body of infantry in that loyal but exhauſted country.

IN the mean time, the parliamentary generals and the Scots made themſelves maſters of almoſt every place of importance in the kingdom, and every where routed and diſperſed the Royaliſts. Fairfax and Cromwell immediately retook Leiceſter; and having alſo reduced Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherborne, they reſolved, before they divided their forces, to beſiege Briſtol, into which prince Rupert had thrown himſelf, with an intention of defending to the uttermoſt a place of ſo much conſequence. Vaſt preparations were made for an enterprize, which, from the ſtrength of the garriſon, and the reputation of the governor, was expected to require the greateſt exertions of valour and perſeverance. But ſo precarious a quality, in moſt men, is military courage! that a poorer defence was not made by any town during the courſe of the war.

Though

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A. D. 1645.

Though prince Rupert had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to hold out four months, if the garriſon did not mutiny, he ſurrendered the place a few days after, on articles of capitulation, and at the firſt ſummons [1]. Charles, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected event, which was ſcarcely leſs fatal to the royal cauſe than the battle of Naſeby, and full of indignation at the manner in which ſo important a city had been given up, at the very time he was collecting forces for its relief, inſtantly recalled all prince Rupert's commiſſions, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. After an unſucceſsful attempt to raiſe the ſiege of Cheſter, the king himſelf took refuge with the remains of his broken army in Oxford, where he continued during the winter ſeaſon [2].

Sept. 24.

FAIRFAX and Cromwell having divided their armies, after the taking of Briſtol, reduced to obedience all the weſt and middle counties of England; while the Scots made themſelves maſters of Carliſle, and other places of importance in the North. Lord Digby, in attempting to break into Scotland, and join Montroſe with twelve hundred horſe, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkſhire, by colonel Copely; and, to complete the king's misfortunes, news ſoon after arrived, that Montroſe himſelf, the only remaining hope of the royal party, was at laſt routed.

THAT gallant nobleman, having deſcended into the low country, had defeated the whole force of the Covenanters at Kilſyth, and left them no remains of an army in Scotland. Edinburgh opened its gates to him; and many of the nobility and gentry, who ſecretly favoured the royal cauſe, when they ſaw a force able to

1. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. iv. 2. Id. ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1645.

ſupport them, declared openly for it. But Montroſe, advancing ſtill farther ſouth, in hopes of being joined by lord Digby, was ſurpriſed, through the negligence of his ſcouts, at Philiphaugh, in Eterick Foreſt, by a ſtrong body of cavalry under David Leſly, who had been detached from the Scottiſh army in England, in order to check the career of this heroic leader; and, after a ſharp conflict, in which he diſplayed the higheſt exertions of valour, the marquis was obliged to quit the field, and fly with his broken forces into the Highlands [3].

THE Covenanters uſed their victory with great rigour. Many of the priſoners were butchered in cold blood; and Sir Robert Spotſwood, Sir Philip Niſbet, Sir William Rolls, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, ſon of the biſhop of Murray, and William Murray, ſon of the earl of Tullibardine, were condemned and executed. The clergy incited the civil power to this ſeverity, and even ſolicited that more blood might be ſpilt upon the ſcaffold. The pulpit thundered againſt all who did the work of the Lord deceitfully. "Thine eye ſhall not "pity!" and "Thou ſhalt not ſpare!" were maxims frequently inculcated after every execution [4].

3. Wiſhart, chap. 13. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. Montroſe's army, when attacked by Leſly, was much reduced by the deſertion of the Highlanders, who had returned home in great numbers, in order to ſecure the plunder they had acquired in the South, and which they conſidered as inexhauſtible wealth. Id. ibid.

4. Burnet, *Hiſt.* vol. i. See alſo Guthrie's *Memoirs*. The preſbyterians about this time, by conſidering themſelves as the choſen people of God, and regulating their conduct by the maxims of the Old Teſtament, ſeem to have departed totally from the ſpirit of the Goſpel. Inſtead of forgiving their enemies, they had no bowels of compaſſion for thoſe who differed from them in the ſlighteſt article of faith.

THE king's condition, during the winter, was truly deplorable. Harraſſed by diſcontented officers, who over-rated thoſe ſervices and ſufferings, which they now apprehended muſt for ever go unrewarded, and by generous friends, whoſe misfortunes wrung his heart with ſorrow; oppreſſed by paſt diſaſters, and apprehenſive of future calamities, he was in no period of his unfortunate life more ſincerely to be pitied. In vain did he attempt to negociate with the parliament: they would not deign to liſten to him, but gave him to underſtand, that he muſt yield at diſcretion[5]. The only remaining body of his troops, on which fortune could exerciſe her rigour, and which he had ordered to march toward Oxford under lord Aſtley, in order to reinforce the garriſon of that place, was met by colonel Morgan at Stowe, and totally defeated. "You have done your work," ſaid Aſtley, to the parliamentary officers, by whom he was taken priſoner; "and may now go to play, unleſs you chuſe to fall out among yourſelves[6]."

A.D. 1645.

March 22.

THUS deprived of all hope of prevailing over the inflexibility of the parliament, either by arms or treaty, the only proſpect of better fortune that remained to the king was in the diſſenſions of his enemies. The civil and religious diſputes between the Preſbyterians and Independents agitated the whole kingdom. The preſbyterian religion was now eſtabliſhed in England in all its forms: and its followers, pleading the eternal obligation of the Covenant, to extirpate ſchiſm and hereſy, menaced their opponents with the ſame rigid perſecu-

5. Clarendon, vol. iv.

6. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. It was the ſame Aſtley, who made the following ſhort, but emphatical prayer, before he led on his men at the battle of Edgehill: "O Lord, thou knoweſt how buſy I muſt be this day; if I forget thee, do not thou forget me!" and then cried, "March on boys!" Warwick, p. 229.

PART II. A. D. 1646.

tion, under which they themſelves had groaned, while held in ſubjection by the hierarchy. But although Charles entertained ſome hopes of reaping advantage from theſe diviſions, he was much at a loſs to determine with which ſide it would be moſt for his intereſt to take part. The Preſbyterians were, by their principles, leaſt inimical to monarchy, but they were bent upon the extirpation of prelacy; whereas the Independents, though reſolute to lay the foundation of a republican government, as they pretended not to erect themſelves into a national church, might poſſibly admit the re-eſtabliſhment of the hierarchy:—and Charles was, at all times, willing to put epiſcopal juriſdiction in competition with regal authority.

BUT the approach of Fairfax toward Oxford put an end to theſe deliberations, and induced the king to embrace a meaſure that muſt ever be conſidered as imprudent. Afraid of falling into the hands of his inſolent enemies, and of being led in triumph by them, he reſolved to throw himſelf on the generoſity of the Scots; without ſufficiently reflecting that he muſt, by ſuch a ſtep, diſguſt his Engliſh ſubjects of all denominations, and that the Scottiſh Covenanters, in whom he meant to repoſe ſo much confidence, were not only his declared enemies, but now acting as auxiliaries to the Engliſh parliament. He left Oxford, however, and retired to their camp before Newark. The Scottiſh generals and commiſſioners affected great ſurpriſe at the appearance of Charles, though previouſly acquainted with his deſign; and, while they paid him all the exterior reſpect due to his dignity, and appointed him a guard, under pretence of protecting him, they made him in reality a priſoner [7].

7. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. v.

THE

LETTER VII.

THE next ſtep which the Scots took, in regard to the unfortunate monarch, was to aſſure the Engliſh parliament, that they had entered into no treaty with the king, and that his arrival among them was altogether unexpected. Senſible, however, of the value of their priſoner, and alarmed at ſome motions of the Engliſh army, they thought proper to retire northward, and fixed their camp at Newcaſtle. This movement was highly agreeable to Charles, who now began to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of protection from the Scots. But he ſoon found cauſe to alter his opinion; and had, in the mean time, little reaſon to be pleaſed with his ſituation. All his friends were kept at a diſtance, and all correſpondence with them was prohibited. And the Covenanters, after inſulting him from the pulpit, and engaging him, by deceitful or unavailing negociations, to diſarm his adherents in both kingdoms, agreed to deliver him up to the Engliſh parliament, on condition of being paid their arrears, which were compounded at four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling [8]. The king was accordingly put into the hands of the parliamentary commiſſioners, and conducted under a guard to Holmby, in the county of Northampton.

A.D. 1646.

A.D. 1647. Jan. 30.

THE civil war was now over. The Scots returned to their own country, and every one ſubmitted to the authority of the ruling powers. But the dominion of the parliament was of ſhort duration. No ſooner was the

8. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xv. The infamy of this tranſaction had ſuch an effect on the members of the Scottiſh parliament, that they voted the king ſhould be protected, and his liberty inſiſted on. But the general aſſembly interpoſed, and declared, That as he had *refuſed* to *take* the *Covenant*, which was *preſſed* on him, it became not the *godly* to *concern* themſelves about his future *welfare*. And after this declaration, it behoved the parliament to retract its vote. (*Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xv. p. 244.) Such influence had the preſbyterian clergy in thoſe days!

PART II. A. D. 1647.

king ſubdued, than the diviſion between the Preſbyterians and Independents became every day more evident; and as nothing remained to confine the wild projects of zeal and ambition, after the ſacred boundaries of law had been violated, the Independents, who, in conſequence of the Self-denying Ordinance, had obtained the command of the army, ſolaced themſelves with the proſpect of a new revolution. Such a revolution as they deſired was accompliſhed by the aſſiſtance of the military power, which tumbled the parliament from its ſlippery throne.

THE manner in which this revolution was effected, it muſt now be our buſineſs to examine, and to notice the moſt ſtriking circumſtances that accompanied it. The Preſbyterians ſtill retained the ſuperiority among the commons, and all the peers, except lord Say, were eſteemed of that party; but the Independents, to whom the inferior ſectaries adhered, predominated in the army, and the troops on the new eſtabliſhment were univerſally infected with that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit. Aware of this, as well as that their antagoniſts truſted to the ſword, in their projects for acquiring an aſcendant, the preſbyterian party in parliament, under pretence of eaſing the public burdens, obtained a vote for diſbanding one part of the army, and for ſending another part of it into Ireland, in order to ſubdue the rebels in that kingdom [9].

THE army had ſmall inclination to the ſervice of Ireland, a barbarous country laid waſte by maſſacres, and ſtill leſs to diſband. Moſt of the officers having riſen from the loweſt conditions, were alarmed at the thought of returning to their original poverty, at a time when

9. Ruſhworth, vol. vii.

they

they hoped to enjoy, in eaſe and tranquillity, that pay which they had earned through ſo many dangers and fatigues. They entered into mutinous combinations; and the two houſes of parliament, under apprehenſions for their own ſafety, inconſiderately ſent Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, the ſecret authors of all theſe diſcontents, to make *offers* to the army, and enquire into the cauſe of its *diſtempers*. LETTER VII. A.D. 1647.

THIS was the criſis for Cromwell to lay the foundation of his future greatneſs: and he did not fail to take advantage of it. By his ſuggeſtion, a meaſure was embraced, which at once brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable. In oppoſition to the parliament at Weſtminſter, a kind of military parliament was formed; conſiſting, firſt of a council of the principal officers, in imitation of the houſe of peers; and next of a more free repreſentation of the army, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of *Agitators*, from each troop or company [10]. This terrible conſiſtory declared, That they found no *diſtempers* in the army, but many *grievances*; and immediately voted the *offers* of the parliament *unſatisfactory* [11].

THE two houſes of parliament made one more trial of their authority: they voted, that all the troops that did not engage to ſerve in Ireland, ſhould inſtantly be diſbanded in their quarters. In anſwer to this vote, the council of the army, which was entirely governed by Cromwell, commanded a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common intereſts. And, at the ſame time that they thus prepared themſelves for oppoſition to the parliament, they ſtruck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour. June 3.

10. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. 11. Whitlocke, p. 250.

PART II. A. D. 1647.

vour. They ſent to Holmby, where the king was ſtill confined, a party of horſe, under cornet Joyce, a famous Agitator; and this rough ſoldier, rudely entering the royal apartment, and pointing to his troopers, when aſked for his authority, conducted the aſtoniſhed monarch to the rendezvous of the army, at Triplo-heath, near Cambridge [12].

THE parliament, when informed of this event, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. Nor was Fairfax, the general, who was totally ignorant of the enterpriſe of Joyce, a little ſurpriſed at the arrival of his ſovereign. That bold meaſure had been ſolely concerted by Comwell; who, by ſeizing the king's perſon, and thus depriving the parliament of any means of accommodation with him, hoped to be able to dictate to them, in the name of the army, what conditions he thought proper. He accordingly engaged Fairfax, over whom he had acquired the moſt abſolute aſcendant, to advance with the troops to St. Alban's, in order to overawe the deliberations of the two houſes. This movement had the deſired effect. The reſolution, by which the military petitioners had been declared public enemies was recalled [13]; and the army, hoping by terror alone to effect all their purpoſes, entered into a negociation with their maſters, without advancing any nearer to the capital.

IN that negociation, the advantages were greatly in favour of the army. They had not only the ſword in their hand, but the parliament was now become the object of general hatred and averſion, as much as ever it had been the idol of ſuperſtitious veneration. The Self-denying Ordinance, introduced only to ſerve a temporary purpoſe, was ſoon laid aſide, by tacit conſent; and the

12. Clarendon, vol v. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. 13. Id. ibid.

members

members ſharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in oppreſſing the helpleſs people. Though near one half the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom had been ſequeſtered, the taxes and impoſitions were far higher than in any former period of the Engliſh government. The exciſe, an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation, had been introduced: and it was now extended over proviſions, and the common neceſſaries of life. But what excited the moſt univerſal complaint was, the unlimited tyranny and deſpotic rule of the country committees; which could ſequeſter, fine, impriſon, and corporally puniſh without law or remedy [14]. They interpoſed even in queſtions of private property; and, under colour of malignancy, they exerciſed vengeance againſt their private enemies [15]. Thus, my dear Philip, inſtead of one Star-chamber, which had been aboliſhed, a great number were anew erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority.

A.D. 1647.

THE parliamentary leaders, conſcious of their decay in popularity, were reduced to deſpair on the approach of the army; and the army, no leſs ſenſible of it, were thereby encouraged in their uſurpations on the parliament; in which they copied exactly the model ſet them by the parliament itſelf, in its late uſurpations upon the crown. They roſe every day in their demands: one claim was no ſooner yielded, than another, ſtill more enormous and exorbitant, was preſented. At firſt they pretended only to petition for what concerned themſelves as ſoldiers; then, they muſt have a vindication of their character; anon, it was neceſſary that their enemies ſhould be puniſhed; and, at laſt, they claimed a right of new-moulding the government, and ſettling the nation [16]. They

14. Clement Walker's *Hiſt. of Independency*. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xv. 15. Id. ibid.

16. Ruſhworth, vol. vii. and viii.

even

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even proceeded ſo far as to name eleven members, the very leaders of the preſbyterian party, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treaſon, as enemies to the army, and evil counſellors to the parliament: and they inſiſted, that theſe members ſhould be immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and thrown into priſon [17]. The commons replied, that they could not proceed ſo far upon a general charge. The army produced, as precedents, the caſes of Strafford and Laud; and the obnoxious members themſelves, not willing to be the occaſion diſcord, begged leave to retire from the houſe [18].

THE army ſeemed ſatisfied with this proof of ſubmiſſion; and, in order to preſerve appearances, they removed, at the deſire of the parliament, to a greater diſtance from London, and fixed their head-quarters at Reading, ſtill carrying the king along with them. Nor was Charles diſpleaſed at this jealous watchfulneſs over his perſon. He now began to find of what conſequence he was to both parties; and fortune, amid all his calamities, ſeemed again to flatter him. The parliament, afraid of his forming ſome accommodation with the army, addreſſed him in a more reſpectful ſtyle than formerly; and even invited him to reſide at Richmond, and contribute his aſſiſtance toward the ſettlement of the nation. The chief officers of the army treated him with regard, and talked upon all occaſions of reſtoring him to his juſt powers and prerogatives. Nay the ſettlement of his revenue and authority was inſiſted on, in the public declarations of the military body; ſo that the Royaliſts, every where, entertained hopes of the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy [19].

17. The names of theſe members were Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Hollis, Maſſey, Glyn, Long, Harley, Nichols. Ruſhworth, vol. vii.

18. Id. ibid.

19. Ruſhworth, ubi ſup.

THOUGH

LETTER VII.

A.D. 1647.

THOUGH the king kept his ear open to all propoſals, and hoped to hold the balance between the oppoſite parties, he entertained more hopes of an accommodation with the army than the parliament, whoſe rigour he had ſeverely felt. To this opinion he was particularly inclined, by the propoſals ſent from the council of officers for the ſettlement of the nation; in which they neither inſiſted on the abolition of epiſcopacy, nor on the puniſhment of the Royaliſts, the very points he had the greateſt reluctance to yield, and which had rendered every former negociation abortive. He alſo hoped, that, by gratifying a few perſons with titles and preferments, he might draw over the whole military power, and at once reinſtate himſelf in his civil authority. To Cromwell he offered the garter, a peerage, and the command of the army; and to Ireton, the lieutenancy of Ireland. Nor did he think that private gentlemen, by birth, could entertain more ambitious views [20].

CROMWELL, willing to keep a door open for an accommodation with the king, if the courſe of events ſhould render it neceſſary, pretended to liſten to theſe ſecret negociations; but he continued at the ſame time, his ſcheme of reducing the parliament to ſubjection, and of depriving it of all means of reſiſtance. For this purpoſe it was required, that the militia of the city of London ſhould be changed, the preſbyterian commiſſioners diſplaced, and the command reſtored to thoſe, who, during the courſe of the war, had conſtantly exerciſed it. The parliament complied even with ſo imperious a demand; hoping to find a more favourable opportunity for recovering its authority and influence. But the impatience of the city deprived that aſſembly of all proſpect of advantage from its cautious meaſures,

20. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xvi. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

and

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and afforded the army a plauſible pretext for their concerted violence. A petition againſt the alteration of the militia was carried to Weſtminſter, accompanied by a ſeditious multitude, who beſieged the houſe of commons, and obliged the members to reverſe the vote they had ſo lately paſſed [21].

No ſooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the army was put in motion, and marched toward the capital; in order to vindicate, as they ſaid, the invaded privileges of parliament againſt the ſeditious citizens, and reſtore that aſſembly to its juſt freedom of debate and counſel. They were met on Hounſlow-heath by the ſpeakers of the two houſes, accompanied with eight peers, and about ſixty commoners; who having ſecretly retired from the city, preſented themſelves before the army with their maces, and all the enſigns of their dignity, complaining of the violence put upon them, and craving protection [22]. Thus encouraged, the army advanced to chaſtiſe the rebellious city, and reinſtate the violated parliament.

MEANWHILE the remaining members prepared themſelves with vigour for defence, and determined to reſiſt the violence of the army. The two houſes immediately choſe new ſpeakers, renewed their orders for enliſting troops, and commanded the train-bands to man the lines. But the terror of an univerſal pillage, and even of a maſſacre, having ſeized the timid inhabitants, the parliament was obliged to ſubmit. The army marched in triumph through the city, but without committing any outrage. They conducted to Weſtminſter the two ſpeakers, who reſumed their ſeats, as if nothing had happened; and the eleven impeached members being

21. Ruſhworth, vol. vii.

22. Ruſhworth, vol. viii.

accuſed,

accuſed, as the authors of the tumult, were expelled. Seven peers were impeached; the lord mayor, one ſheriff, and three aldermen were ſent to the Tower; ſeveral citizens and officers of the militia were committed to priſon; the lines around the city were levelled; the militia reſtored to the Independents; ſeveral regiments were quartered in Whitehall and the Mews; and the parliament being reduced to abſolute ſervitude, a day was appointed for a ſolemn thankſgiving to God for the reſtoration of its liberty [23]! LETTER VII. A.D. 1647.

THE Independents, who had ſecretly concurred in all the encroachments of the military upon the civil power, exulted in their victory. They had now a near proſpect of moulding the government into the form of that imaginary republic, which had long been the object of their wiſhes; and they vainly expected, by the terror of the ſword, to impoſe a more perfect ſyſtem of liberty on the nation, without perceiving that they themſelves, by ſuch a conduct, muſt become ſlaves to ſome military deſpot. Yet were the leaders of this party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, and others, the men in England moſt celebrated for ſound thought and deep deſign: ſo certain it is, that an extravagant paſſion for ſway will make the moſt prudent overlook the dangerous conſequences of thoſe meaſures, which ſeem to tend to their own aggrandiſement!—Men, under the influence of ſuch a paſſion, may be ſaid to ſee objects only on one ſide; hence the hero and the politician, as well as the lover, in the failure of their ſelf-deceiving projects, have often occaſion to lament their own blindneſs.

THE king, however, derived ſome temporary advantages from this revolution. The leaders of the army,

23. Id. ibid. Hume, vol. vii.

having

PART II. A. D. 1641.

having now eſtabliſhed their dominion over the city and parliament, ventured to bring their captive ſovereign to his palace of Hampton-court; where he lived, for a time, with an appearance of dignity and freedom. He ſtill entertained hopes, that his negociations with the generals would be crowned with ſucceſs, and declined all advances from the parliament. Cromwell, it is aſſerted, really intended to have made a private bargain with the king, but found inſuperable difficulties in attempting to reconcile the military fanatics to ſuch a meaſure. This reaſon, it is at leaſt certain, he aſſigned for more ſeldom admitting the viſits of the king's friends. The Agitators, he ſaid, had already rendered him odious to the army; by repreſenting him as a traitor, who, for the ſake of private intereſt, was ready to betray the cauſe of God to the great enemy of piety and religion [24].

CROMWELL thus finding, or pretending to find, that he could not ſafely cloſe with the king's propoſals, affected to be much alarmed for his majeſty's ſafety. Deſperate projects, he aſſerted, were formed by the Agitators againſt the life of the captive monarch; and he was apprehenſive, he ſaid, that the commanding officers might not be able to reſtrain thoſe deſperate enthuſiaſts from executing their bloody purpoſe [25]. In order however, that no precaution might ſeem to be neglected, the guards were doubled upon him, the promiſcuous concourſe of people was reſtrained, and a more jealous care was exerted in attending his perſon; all under colour of protecting him from danger, but really with a view of making his preſent ſituation uneaſy to him.

THESE artifices ſoon produced the deſired effect. Charles took a ſudden reſolution of withdrawing him-

24. Clarendon, vol. v. Ruſhworth, vol. viii. 25. Id. ibid.

ſelf

LETTER VII.

A.D. 1647.

ſelf from Hampton-court. He accordingly made his eſcape, attended by three gentlemen, in whom he placed particular confidence, namely Sir John Berkeley, Aſhburnham, and Legg, though ſeemingly without any rational plan for the future diſpoſal of his perſon. He firſt went toward the ſea coaſt, and expreſſed great anxiety, that a certain ſhip, in which it was ſuppoſed he intended to have tranſported himſelf beyond ſea, had not arrived. After ſecreting himſelf for ſome time at Titchfield, he determined to put himſelf under the protection of Hammond, governor of the Iſle of Wight, nephew to Dr. Hammond his favourite chaplain, but intimately connected with the republican party. For this purpoſe, Aſhburnham and Berkeley were diſpatched to that iſland, but with orders not to diſcover to the governor the place where the king lay concealed, until they had obtained a promiſe from him, that he would not deliver up his majeſty to the parliament or army. Such a promiſe would have been a ſlender ſecurity; yet Aſhburnham imprudently, if not treacherouſly, brought Hammond to Titchfield, without exacting it. And the king was obliged to accompany him to Cariſbrook-caſtle in the iſle of Wight; where, although received with expreſſions of duty and reſpect, he found himſelf in reality a priſoner[26].

It is impoſſible to ſay how far the firmeſt mind may, on ſome occaſions, be influenced by the apprehenſions of perſonal danger; but it is certain that Charles never took a weaker ſtep, or one more agreeable to his enemies, than in abandoning his palace of Hampton Court. There, though a captive, he was of more conſequence than he could poſſibly be any where elſe, unleſs at the head of an army.

26. All the hiſtorians of that age, except Clarendon, whoſe authority is chiefly followed in this narration, repreſent the king's departure for the Iſle of Wight as altogether voluntary. He ſeems to have probability on his ſide, in aſcribing that meaſure partly to neceſſity. *Hiſt.* vol. v.

PART II. A. D. 1747.

He was now indeed far enough removed from the fury of the Agitators, but he was alſo totally ſeparated from his adherents, and ſtill at the diſpoſal of the army. The generals could, no doubt, have ſent him at any time, while in their cuſtody, to ſuch a place of confinement; but the attempt would have been apt to rouſe the returning loyalty of the nation. It was therefore an incident as fortunate for his perſecutors as it proved fatal to himſelf, that he ſhould thus timidly ruſh into the ſnare.

CROMWELL being now freed from all anxiety in regard to the cuſtody of the king's perſon, and entirely maſter of the parliament, employed himſelf ſeriouſly to cure the diſorders of the army. That arrogant ſpirit, which he himſelf had ſo artfully foſtered among the inferior officers and private men, in order to prepare them for a rebellion againſt their maſters, and which he had ſo ſucceſsfully employed againſt both king and parliament, was become dangerous to their leaders. The camp, in many reſpects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military ſubordination. The troops themſelves were formed into a kind of republic: and all hoſtile oppoſition being at an end, nothing was now talked of by theſe armed legiſlators, but plans of imaginary commonwealths; in which royalty was to be aboliſhed, nobility ſet aſide, all ranks of men levelled, and an univerſal equality of property as well as of power introduced among the citizens. A perfect parity, they ſaid, had place among the elect; and conſequently the meaneſt centinel, if enlightened by the Holy Ghoſt, was entitled to equal regard with the higheſt commander [27].

IN order to mortify this ſpiritual pride, Cromwell iſſued orders for diſcontinuing the meetings of the Agitators; and having nothing farther to fear from the

27. C. Walker's *Hiſt. of Independency.*

parliament, he reſolved to make that aſſembly the inſtrument of his future authority, and feigned the moſt perfect obedience to its commands. But the *Levellers*, as the fanatical party in the army were called, ſecretly continued their meetings; and at length began to affirm, that the military eſtabliſhment, as much as any part of the church or ſtate, ſtood in need of reformation. Several regiments joined in ſeditious remonſtrances and petitions; ſeparate rendezvous were concerted; and every thing tended to anarchy and confuſion, when the bold genius of Cromwell applied a remedy adequate to the diſeaſe. At a general review of the forces, he ordered the ringleaders to be ſeized in the face of their companions. He held a council of war in the field; ſhot one mutineer, confined others, and by this well-timed rigour reduced the whole army to diſcipline and obedience [28]. LETTER VII. A. D. 1647

CROMWELL's power was now too great to permit him to ſuffer an equal; although, the better to accompliſh his ambitious purpoſes, he willingly allowed Fairfax to retain the name of commander in chief. But while the king lived, he was ſtill in danger of, one day, finding a maſter. The deſtruction of Charles was, therefore, the great object that henceforth engaged his thoughts. Inſurrections, he was ſenſible, would never be wanting, if not a general combination, in favour of a prince, who was ſo extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with an eye of affectionate compaſſion. But how to get rid of him, was a queſtion not eaſy to anſwer. To murder him privately, beſide the baſeneſs of ſuch a crime, would expoſe all concerned in it to the odious epithets of traitors and aſſaſſins, and rouſe univerſal indignation.

28. Ruſhworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v.

PART II. A. D. 1647.

Some unexpected meaſure, he foreſaw, muſt be adopted; which, coinciding with the fanatical notions of the entire equality of mankind, would bear the ſemblance of juſtice, inſure the devoted obedience of the army, and aſtoniſh the world by its novelty: but what that ſhould be, he could not yet fully determine.

In order to extricate himſelf from this difficulty, Cromwell had recourſe to the counſels of Ireton; who having grafted the ſoldier on the lawyer, and the ſtateſman on the ſaint, thought himſelf abſolved from the ordinary rules of morality, in the proſecution of his holy purpoſes. At his ſuggeſtion, Cromwell ſecretly called, at Windſor, a council of the chief officers of the army, in order to deliberate concerning the ſettlement of the nation, and the future diſpoſal of the king's perſon. And in that hypocritical conference, after many enthuſiaſtic prayers, and fanatical effuſions, was firſt opened the daring counſel of ſubjecting the king to a judicial ſentence, and of rebel ſubjects bringing their ſovereign to the block for his pretended tyranny and mal-adminiſtration [29].

This reſolution being ſolemnly formed, it became neceſſary to concert ſuch meaſures as would make the parliament adopt it; and to conduct them inſenſibly from violence to violence, till that laſt act of atrocious iniquity ſhould ſeem eſſential to their own ſafety. The Levellers were prepared for ſuch a proceeding, by frequent ſermons from the following paſſage of Scripture, on which the fanatical preachers of thoſe times delighted to dwell: "Let the high praiſes of the Lord be in "the mouth of his ſaints, and a two-edged ſword in "their hands, to execute vengeance upon the Heathen,

29. Id. ibid.

"and

" and puniſhment upon the people; and bind their " kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of " iron; to execute upon them the judgments written! " This honour hath all his ſaints." LETTER VII. A. D. 1647.

THE conſpirators accordingly, as a firſt ſtep toward their bloody purpoſe, inſtigated the Independents in the houſe of commons, by whom its reſolutions were now wholly governed, to frame four propoſitions, by way of preliminaries, which were ſent to the king; and to each of which they demanded his poſitive aſſent, before they would condeſcend to treat with him, though they knew that the whole would be rejected. Theſe propoſitions were altogether exorbitant. Charles therefore demanded a perſonal treaty with the parliament; and deſired, That all the general terms, on both ſides, ſhould be adjuſted, before particular conceſſions, on either ſide, ſhould be inſiſted on. The republican party in parliament pretended to take fire at this anſwer, and openly inveighed againſt the perſon and government of the king; while Ireton, ſeeming to ſpeak the ſenſe of the army, under the appellation of *many thouſands* of the *godly*, ſaid that the king, having denied the four propoſitions, which were eſſential to the ſafety and protection of his people, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and muſt ſettle the nation, without any longer conſulting ſo miſguided a prince. Cromwell added, that it was expected the parliament would thenceforth rule and defend the kingdom by their own power and reſolutions, and not accuſtom the people any longer to expect ſafety and government from an obſtinate man, whoſe heart God had hardened[30]. In conſequence of theſe arguments, it was voted, That no more addreſſes A. D. 1648, Jan. 15.

30. C. Walker's *Hiſt. of Independency*.

PART II. A.D. 1648. be made to the king, nor any letters or meſſages received from him; and that it be accounted treaſon for any one, without leave of the two houſes of parliament, to have any intercourſe with him [31].

By this vote the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole conſtitution formally overthrown. And the commons, in order to ſupport ſo violent a meaſure, iſſued a declaration, in which the blackeſt calumnies were thrown upon the king; as if they had hoped, by blaſting his fame, to prepare the nation for the violence intended againſt his perſon. By command of the army, he was ſhut up in cloſe confinement; all his ſervants were removed, and all correſpondence with his friends was cut off. In this ſtate of dreary ſolitude, while he expected every moment to be poiſoned or aſſaſſinated, he repoſed himſelf with confidence in the arms of that Great Being, who penetrates and ſuſtains all nature, and whoſe chaſtiſements, if received with piety and reſignation, he regarded as the ſureſt pledges of favour and affection [32].

In the meantime, the army and parliament enjoyed not in tranquillity that power which they had uſurped. The Scots, enraged at the depreſſion of the Preſbyterian party, had proteſted againſt the four propoſitions, as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no ſecurity for religion; and the perſons ſent to London for this purpoſe, and who accompanied the Engliſh commiſſioners to the Iſle of Wight, had ſecretly entered into engagements with Charles,

31. Ruſhworth, vol. viii.

32. Hume, vol. vii. "Whom the Lord loveth he chaſtiſeth!" was indeed a text that Charles had much occaſion to call to his aſſiſtance; and a firm belief in this conſolatory doctrine ſupported him under all his ſufferings, and made him triumph even in the hour of death.

for

for arming Scotland in his favour [33]. Nor was England quiet under its new maſters. The people, rouſed from their delirium, found themſelves loaded with a variety of taxes, formerly unknown, and ſcarcely any appearance of law or liberty remaining in the adminiſtration of government. Every part of the kingdom was agitated with tumults, inſurrections, and conſpiracies; and all orders of men were inflamed with indignation at ſeeing the military prevail over the civil power, and both king and parliament reduced to ſubjection by a mercenary army. A.D. 1648

BUT although the whole Engliſh nation ſeemed to agree in declaring their deteſtation of military tyranny, the ends which the ſeveral parties purſed were ſo different, that little concert was obſerved in their inſurrections. A jealouſy alſo prevailed between them and the Scots, who had marched a conſiderable army ſouthward, under the marquis of Hamilton; and before the parliament, where the Preſbyterians had again acquired the aſcendant, could conclude a treaty, on which they had entered with the king, Cromwell and his aſſociates, by their vigour and activity, had routed the Scots, and diſperſed or ſubdued all the Engliſh inſurgents. But the parliament, though deprived of all hopes of prevailing, had ſtill the courage to reſiſt. Denzil Hollis, the preſent leader of the Preſbyterians, was a man of great intrepidity; and many others of the party ſeemed to inherit the ſame unconquerable ſpirit. It was magnanimouſly propoſed by theſe bold ſenators, that the generals, and principal officers of the army, ſhould, for their diſobedience and uſurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament [34].

33. Clarendon, vol. v. Burnet's *Mem. of Hamilt.*

34. Ruſhworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

PART II. A. D. 1648.

THE generals, however, were not to be frightened by words. They marched the army to London; and placing guards in Whitehall, the Meuſe, St. James's, Durham-houſe, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, ſurrounded the parliament with their forces. Yet the commons attempted, in the face of the army, to finiſh their treaty with the king; and, after a violent debate of three days, it was carried by a majority of thirty-ſix, above an oppoſition of eighty-three, that the king's conceſſions were a foundation for the parliament to proceed upon in the ſettlement of the kingdom. This was the time for the generals to interpoſe: and they knew it. Next morning, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had, by order of his ſuperiors, environed the houſe with a party of ſoldiers. He ſeized in the paſſage forty-one members of the Preſbyterian party: above an hundred and fifty more commoners were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the moſt furious and determined of the Independents, who did not exceed ſixty in number. This remnant, ludicrouſly called the *Rump*, inſtantly reverſed the former vote, and declared the king's conceſſions unſatisfactory [35].

THE future proceedings of the Parliament, if a fanatical junto, entirely under the direction of the army, can deſerve that honourable name, were worthy of the members that compoſed it. After having exerciſed their vengeance on all whom they feared, or who had been engaged in the late inſurrections, they determined to cloſe the ſcene with the public trial and execution of their ſovereign. A committee of the houſe of commons was accordingly appointed to bring in a charge againſt the king; and, on their report, a vote paſſed, declaring it

35. Ruſhworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

High

High Treaſon in a King to *levy war* againſt his *Parliament*, and appointing an HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE to try CHARLES STUART for that crime. This vote was ſent up to the houſe of peers, and rejected without one diſſenting voice, contemptible as were the few peers that now attended! But the commons were not to be ſtopped by ſo ſmall an obſtacle. Having firſt eſtabliſhed the principle, that "the *people* are the *origin* of *all juſt* "*power*;" a maxim noble in itſelf, but which, as in the preſent caſe, may be perverted to the worſt of purpoſes, they next declared, "That the commons of England, "aſſembled in parliament, being choſen by the people, "and repreſenting them, have the ſupreme authority of "the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared "law by the commons, hath the force of law, without "the conſent of the king or houſe of peers[36]." This matter being ſettled, the ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, was again read, and unanimouſly agreed to.

LETTER VIII. A.D. 1648. A.D. 1649, Jan. 4.

"SHOULD any one have voluntarily propoſed," ſaid Cromwell, "to bring the king to puniſhment, I ſhould "have regarded him as the greateſt traitor; but ſince "Providence and neceſſity have caſt us upon it, I will "pray to God for a bleſſing on your counſels, though I "am not prepared to give you any advice on this im-"portant occaſion. Even I myſelf," added he, "when "I was lately offering up petitions for his majeſty's re-"ſtoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my "mouth, and conſidered this ſupernatural movement as "the anſwer which Heaven, having rejected the king, "had ſent to my ſupplications[37]!"

COLONEL Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, and the moſt furious enthuſiaſt in the army, was ſent with a

36. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xvii. 37. Id. ibid.

ſtrong

PART II. A. D. 1649.

ſtrong party to conduct the king to London. All the exterior ſymbols of ſovereignty were now withdrawn, and Charles was ſenſible, that a period would, in a ſhort time, be put to his life; yet could he not perſuade himſelf, after all the ſteps that had been taken, that his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution. The form of the trial, however, was ſoon regulated, and the high court of juſtice, or rather of iniquity, fully conſtituted. It ſat in Weſtminſter-hall, and conſiſted of near an hundred and fifty perſons, as named by the commons; though ſcarce ſeventy ever attended, and few of theſe were men of either birth or character. Cromwell, Ireton, Harriſon, and other officers of the army; ſome members of the lower houſe, and ſome citizens of London, were the awful judges appointed to try their ſovereign. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident; Coke, another lawyer, was appointed ſolicitor for the people of England, and Doriſlaus, Steele, and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants.

Jan. 16.

THOUGH the king had long been detained a priſoner, and was now produced as a criminal, he ſtill remembered what he owed to himſelf before ſuch an inferior tribunal, and ſuſtained with compoſure and magnanimity the majeſty of the throne. Being conducted to a chair, placed within the bar, he took his ſeat with his hat on, and ſurveyed his judges with an air of dignified diſdain. The ſolicitor repreſented, in the name of the commons, That Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entruſted with a limited power, had nevertheleſs, from a wicked deſign to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied war againſt the preſent parliament, and the people whom they repreſented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. When the charge was finiſhed,

finiſhed, the preſident directed his diſcourſe to the king, and told him that the court expected his anſwer. Charles, with great temper and firmneſs, declined the authority of the court. Having been engaged in a treaty with the two houſes of parliament, and having finiſhed almoſt every article, he had expected, he ſaid, before this time, to be brought to his capital in another manner, and to have been reſtored to his power, dignity, and revenue, as well as to his perſonal liberty; that he could now perceive no appearance of the upper houſe, ſo eſſential a part of the conſtitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whoſe authority was pleaded, were ſubdued by lawleſs force; that the whole authority of the ſtate, though free and united, was not entitled to try him, their hereditary king; that he acknowledged he had a TRUST committed to him, and one moſt ſacred and inviolable: he was entruſted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognizing a power founded on the moſt atrocious violence and uſurpation; that having taken arms, and frequently expoſed his life in defence of public liberty, of the conſtitution, and of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this laſt and moſt ſolemn ſcene, to ſeal with his blood thoſe precious rights, for which, though unſucceſsfully, he had ſtruggled ſo long [38]. The preſident ſtill contended, that the king muſt not decline the authority of his judges; that they over-ruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only ſource of all lawful power; and that kings themſelves act only in truſt from that community, which had inveſted this high court of juſtice with its juriſdiction. LETTER VII. A. D. 1649.

THREE times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined its juriſdiction. On the fourth

38. *State Trials*, vol. ii. Ruſhworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v. &c. Walker's *Hiſt. of Independency*. Ludlow, vol. i.

ſitting

PART II. A.D. 1649.

ſitting, the judges having examined ſome witneſſes, by whom it was proved, That the king had appeared in arms againſt the forces commiſſioned by the parliament, they pronounced ſentence againſt him; adjudging, That he, the ſaid Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, ſhould be put to death, by the ſevering of his head from his body. Firm and intrepid in all his appearances before his judges, the unfortunate monarch never forgot himſelf either as a prince or as a man: nor did he diſcover any emotion at this extraordinary ſentence; but ſeemed to look down, with a mixture of pity and contempt, on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity [39]. Three days were allowed him between his ſentence and execution. Theſe he paſſed in great tranquillity, occupying himſelf chiefly in reading and devotion, and every night ſlept as ſound as uſual; though the noiſe of workmen employed in framing the ſcaffold, and making other preparations for his exit, continually reſounded in his ears [40].

CHARLES however, though thus oppreſſed by a rebellious faction, was not ſuffered to die without the tear of compaſſion, or the interpoſition of friendly powers. The people, who in their miſguided fury, had before ſo violently rejected him, now avowed him for their monarch, by their generous ſorrow; nor could they forbear pouring forth their prayers for his preſervation, notwithſtanding the rod of tyranny that hung over them. The French ambaſſador, by orders from his court, interpoſed in the king's behalf; the Dutch employed their good offices; the Scots exclaimed, and proteſted againſt the intended violence, which inſultingly pretended to conceal itſelf under the ſemblance of law and juſtice; and the queen and the prince

39. Id. ibid. 40. C. Walker's *Hiſt. of Independency.*

of

of Wales wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. But all their ſolicitations were in vain. Nothing could alter the reſolutions of men, whoſe ambitious projects required the blood of their ſovereign as a ſeal. LETTER VII. A. D. 1649.

On the morning of the fatal day, the king roſe early, and continued his devotions till noon, aſſiſted by biſhop Juxon; a man whoſe mild and ſteady virtues very much reſembled thoſe of his ſovereign. The ſtreet before Whitehall was the place deſtined for the execution; it being intended, by chuſing that place, to diſplay more fully the triumph of popular juſtice over tyrannical power. And Charles having drank a glaſs of wine, and ate a bit of bread, walked through the Banquetting-houſe to the ſcaffold, which was covered with black cloth. In the middle of it appeared the block and axe, with two executioners in maſques. Several troops of horſe and companies of foot were placed around it; and a vaſt number of ſpectators waited, in ſilent horror, at a greater diſtance. The king eyed all theſe ſolemn preparations with great compoſure; and finding that he could not expect to be heard by the people, he addreſſed himſelf to the few perſons about his perſon, but particularly to colonel Tomlinſon, to whoſe care he had lately been committed, and on whom he had wrought an entire converſion. He vindicated himſelf from the accuſation of having commenced war againſt his parliament. But, although innocent toward his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eye of Heaven; and obſerved, that an unjuſt ſentence, which he had ſuffered to take effect upon the earl of Strafford, was now puniſhed by an unjuſt ſentence upon himſelf [41]. He declared, that Jan. 30.

41. I have formerly taken occaſion to obſerve, That Charles ought not to have given his aſſent to the bill of attainder againſt Strafford, unleſs he thought his miniſter had exceeded his inſtructions. This ſolemn expreſſion of remorſe, proves that the king believed him guiltleſs. And Strafford's

PART II. A. D. 1649.

that he forgave all his enemies, even the chief inſtruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful ſovereign, his ſon and ſucceſſor [42].

THESE exhortations being finiſhed, the king prepared himſelf for the block; biſhop Juxon in the meantime warning him, that there was but one ſtage more between him and heaven, and that, though troubleſome,

Strafford's vindication of himſelf from the *accuſation* of *rigour*, in a letter to his intimate friend, Sir Chriſtopher Wandeſworth, fully juſtifies the character I have given of him; explains the motives of his conduct, and evinces the neceſſity of ſtrong meaſures, as well as their conformity to the will of his maſter. "I have been repreſented," ſays he, "rather as "a baſhaw of Buda, than the miniſter of a pious and Chriſtian king. "Howbeit, if I were not much miſtaken in myſelf, it was quite the "contrary. No man could ſhew wherein I had expreſſed it in my na"ture; no friend would charge me with it in my private converſation; "no creature had found it in the management of my domeſtic affairs; "ſo if I ſtood ſo clear in all theſe reſpects, it was to be confeſſed by "any *equal mind*, that it was not any thing *within*, but the *neceſſity of his* "*majeſty's ſervice*, which enforced me into a ſeeming ſtrictneſs *outwardly*. "And that was the reaſon indeed; for where I found a crown, a church, "and a people *ſpoiled*, I could not imagine to redeem them from under "the preſſure with gracious ſmiles and gentle looks. Where a dominion "was once gotten and ſettled, it might be ſtayed and kept where it was, "by ſoft and moderate counſels, but where a *ſovereignty* (be it ſpoken "with reverence) was *going down the hill*, the *nature of men* did ſo eaſily "*ſlide* into the *paths* of *uncontrouled liberty*, as it would not be *brought back* "without *ſtrength*, nor be *forced up the hill again* but by *vigour*. And "true it was, I knew no other *rule* to *govern by*, but by *reward* and *pu*"*niſhment*. If this be *ſharpneſs*, if this be *ſeverity*, I deſired to be better "*inſtructed* by his majeſty and their lordſhips," (this letter being the ſubſtance of a ſpeech in the privy-council) "for in truth it did not ſeem "ſo to me. However, if I were once *told* that his majeſty *liked not to be* "*thus ſerved*, I would readily *conform myſelf*; follow the *bent* and *current* "of my *own diſpoſition*, which is to be *quiet*—Here his majeſty interrupt"ed me, and ſaid, that was no *ſeverity*: if I *ſerved* him *otherwiſe*, I ſhould "not *ſerve* him as he *expected from me*." Strafford's *Letters and Diſpatches*, vol. ii.

42. *State Trials*, vol. ii. Ruſhworth, vol. viii. Whitlocke, p. 375. Burnet, vol. i. Hebert's *Mem.* p. 117—127.

it

it was ſhort. "I go," ſaid Charles, "from a corrupt-"ible to an incorruptible crown, where no diſturbance "can ariſe."—"You are exchanged," replied the biſhop, "from a temporal to an eternal crown: a good ex-"change!" One of the executioners, at a ſingle blow, ſevered the king's head from his body; and the other holding it up, ſtreaming with blood, cried aloud, "This "is the head of a Traitor [43]!" Grief, terror, and indignation, took at once hold of the hearts of the aſtoniſhed ſpectators; each of whom ſeemed to accuſe himſelf either of active diſloyalty to his murdered ſovereign, or with too indolent a defence of his oppreſſed cauſe, and to regard himſelf as an accomplice in this horrid tranſaction, which had fixed an indelible ſtain upon the character of the nation, and muſt expoſe it to the vengeance of an offended Deity. The ſame ſentiments ſpread themſelves throughout the whole kingdom. The people were everywhere overwhelmed with ſorrow and confuſion, as ſoon as informed of the fatal cataſtrophe of the king, and filled with unrelenting hatred againſt the authors of his death. His ſufferings, his magnanimity, his patience, his piety, and his Chriſtian deportment, made all his errors be forgot; and nothing was now to be heard, but lamentations and ſelf-reproaches [44].

CHARLES

43. Id. ibid. It being remarked that the king, the moment before he ſtretched out his neck to the executioner, had emphatically pronounced the word REMEMBER! great myſteries were ſuppoſed to be concealed under that expreſſion; and the generals inſiſted that Juxon ſhould inform them of its latent meaning. The biſhop told them, that the king having frequently charged him to inculcate on his ſon the forgiveneſs of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the laſt moment of his life, to reiterate that deſire; and that his mild ſpirit thus terminated its preſent courſe, by an act of benevolence toward his greateſt enemies. Hume, vol. vii.

44. This diſpoſition of mind was much heightened by the appearance of the Icon Baſiliké; a work publiſhed in the king's name a few days after his execution, and containing, beſide his prayers in the exerciſe of his

PART II. A.D. 1649.

CHARLES I. was of a middling ſtature, ſtrong and well proportioned. His features were regular, and his aſpect ſweet, but melancholy. He excelled in horſemanſhip and other manly exerciſes. His judgment was ſound, his taſte elegant, and his general temper moderate. He was a ſincere admirer of the fine arts, and a liberal encourager of thoſe who purſued them. As a man, his character was unexceptionable, and even highly exemplary: in a word, we may ſay with lord Clarendon, that "he was the worthieſt gentleman, the beſt "maſter, the beſt friend, the beſt huſband, the beſt father, and the beſt Chriſtian in his dominions." But he had the misfortune, as a king, to be educated in high notions of the royal prerogative, which he thought it his

his private devotions, meditations or ſelf-converſations, in which the moſt blameable meaſures of his government are vindicated or palliated. A performance ſo full of piety, meekneſs, and humanity, believed to be written by the Royal Martyr, as he was called by the friends of the church and monarchy, and publiſhed at ſo critical a time, had wonderful effects upon the nation. It paſſed rapidly through many editions: and, independent of all prejudice or partiality, it muſt be allowed to be a work of merit, eſpecially in regard to ſtyle and compoſition. But whether it be really the production of Charles, or of Dr. Gauden, is a matter not yet ſettled among the learned; though the internal proofs, it is owned, are ſtrongly in favour of the advocates for this unfortunate prince, whoſe ſtyle was, on all occaſions, as remarkable for its purity, neatneſs, and ſimplicity, the characteriſtics of the Icon, as Dr. Gauden's for the oppoſite faults. Along with that performance were publiſhed ſeveral others, and particularly a poem, which has been much admired, entitled *Majeſty in Miſery*, ſaid to have been written by the king during his confinement in Cariſbrook caſtle, in the year 1648. The two firſt ſtanzas of this poem are ſufficiently remarkable to merit the attention of the hiſtorian, as they contain a vindication of Charles's veracity, by way of appeal to an awful Judge, whom he could not hope to deceive.

"Great Monarch of the World, from whoſe power ſprings
"The potency and power of kings,
"Record the royal woe my ſuffering ſings;

"And teach my *tongue*, that ever did *confine*
"Its *faculties* in *Truth's* ſeraphic *line*,
"To *track* the *Treaſons* of *thy Foes* and *mine!*"

duty

duty to ſupport, at a time when his people were little inclined to reſpect ſuch rights[45]; and to be ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the religion of his country, when the violence of fanaticiſm was ready to overturn both the church and monarchy. In the convulſion occaſioned by theſe oppoſite humours and pretenſions, he fell beneath the fury of an ambitious faction, a martyr to his principles and the Engliſh conſtitution. Had he acceded more early to the reaſonable demands of the commons, he might perhaps have avoided his fate. Yet their furious encroachments on the prerogative, after thoſe demands had been granted, leave it doubtful, whether they would, at any time, have been ſatisfied with equitable conceſſions, or whether it was poſſible for Charles, by any line of conduct, to have averted the evils that overtook him, unleſs he had poſſeſſed vigour and capacity enough to have cruſhed the riſing ſpirit of liberty; an event which muſt have proved no leſs dangerous to the conſtitution, than the victory of the parliament. It is certain, however, that he was too eaſy in yielding to the opinion of others, and too apt to liſten to violent counſels. His abilities, like thoſe of his father, ſhone more in reaſoning than in

LETTER VII. A.D. 164

45. The king's ſentiments, in regard to government, ſeem to have been ſufficiently moderate before his death. "Give *belief* to my *experience*," ſays he, in a letter to the prince of Wales, "never to *affect* "more *greatneſs* or *prerogative* than what is really and intrinſically for "the *good* of your *ſubjects*, not the *ſatisfaction* of *favourites*. If you thus "uſe it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any, whom you incline to be extraordinarily gracious "to. You may perceive, that all men truſt their treaſure where it returns them intereſt; and if a prince, like the ſea, receive and repay "all the freſh ſtreams, which the rivers entruſt with him, they will not "grudge, but pride themſelves to make him up an ocean. Theſe conſiderations may make you as great a prince, as your father is a low "one; and your ſtate may be ſo much the more eſtabliſhed, as mine "hath been ſhaken: for our ſubjects have learned, I dare ſay, that "*victories over their princes are but triumphs over themſelves*; and ſo will "more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter." This letter was written ſoon after the laſt negociation with the parliament in the Iſle of Wight, in 1648.

PART II. A. D. 1649.

action; and his virtues, as well as his talents, were better ſuited to private than to public life. As he wanted firmneſs, in his regal capacity, he is alſo reproached with want of ſincerity; and to theſe two defects in his character, but more eſpecially to a ſtrong impuration of the latter, from which he cannot be altogether vindicated, have been aſcribed, by the zealous friends of freedom, the utter ruin of the royal cauſe, the triumph of the military deſpots over the parliament, and the death of Charles. The great body of the commons were ſurely not enemies to monarchy; but having no confidence in the king, they thought they could never ſufficiently fetter him with limitations. Hence their rigour, and the riſe of the civil war. The ſubſequent events were not within their controul.

THE death of the king was ſoon followed by the diſſolution of the monarchy. The commons, after having declared it high-treaſon to proclaim, or otherwiſe acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called *Prince of Wales*, as ſovereign of England, paſſed an act aboliſhing the kingly power, as *uſeleſs*, *burdenſome*, and *dangerous*. They alſo aboliſhed the houſe of peers, as *uſeleſs* and *dangerous*; and ordered a new great ſeal to be made, on one ſide of which was engraved the date, and on the other they themſelves were repreſented as aſſembled in parliament, with this inſcription: "IN "THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLES-"SING RESTORED [46]." It was committed in charge to a certain number of perſons, denominated *The Conſervators of the Liberties of England*; in whoſe name all public buſineſs was tranſacted, under the direction of the houſe of commons. The king's ſtatue in the Exchange was thrown down; and, on the pedeſtal, the following words were inſcribed:—*Exit Tyrannus, Regum*

46. *Journals*, Jan. 1648-9.

gum

gum ultimus; "The Tyrant, the laſt of the Kings, is "gone [47]." LETTER VII. A.D. 1649.

WE muſt now, my dear Philip, turn aſide to contemplate the affairs on the continent, and take a view of thoſe events that introduced the reign of Lewis XIV. before we carry farther the tranſactions of England.

LETTER VIII.

A general View of the EUROPEAN *Continent, from the Peace of* WESTPHALIA, *in* 1648, *to the* PYRENEAN *Treaty, in* 1659, *and the Peace of* OLIVA, *in* 1660.

THOUGH the peace of Weſtphalia reſtored tranquillity to Germany and the North of Europe, war was continued between France and Spain, as I have formerly had occaſion to obſerve [1], and ſoon broke out among the northern powers. France was, at the ſame time, diſtracted by civil broils, though leſs fatal than thoſe of England. LETTER VIII. A. D. 1648.

THESE broils were fomented by the coadjutor-archbiſhop of Paris, afterward the famous cardinal de Retz, ſo well known by his intereſting *Memoirs*, which unfold minutely the latent ſprings of the intrigues of ſtate, and the principles by which they are governed. This extraordinary man united to the moſt profligate manners a profound genius and a factious ſpirit. Conſcious of his ſuperior abilities, and jealous of the greatneſs of Mazarine, whoſe place of prime miniſter he thought

47. C. Walker's *Hiſt. of Independency*. Clarendon, vol. v.
1. Part. I. Lett. lxxiv.

PART II. A. D. 1648.

himſelf better qualified to fill, he infuſed the ſame jealouſies into the nobility and the princes of the blood; while he rouſed the people to ſedition, by repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the ignominy of ſubmitting to the oppreſſive adminiſtration of a ſtranger. Yet that miniſter had highly contributed to the grandeur of the French monarchy, by the important poſſeſſions obtained, and ſecured by the treaty of Munſter; nor were the taxes complained of, more weighty than the neceſſities of the ſtate required, or half ſo burdenſome as thoſe which the civil war ſoon brought upon the kingdom, beſide its deſtructive rage, and the advantage it gave to the Spaniſh arms.

BUT although the coadjutor ſeems to have had nothing leſs at heart than the good of his country, ſuch a pretence was neceſſary to cover his ambitious projects; and, in order ſtill farther to give a ſanction to his pretended reformation, he artfully drew the parliament of Paris into his views. Inflamed with the love of power, and ſtimulated by the inſinuations of an intriguing prelate, the parliament boldly ſet its authority in oppoſition to that of the court, even before any of the princes of the blood had declared themſelves. This was a very extraordinary ſtep; for the parliament of Paris, though a reſpectable body, was now no more than the firſt college of juſtice in the kingdom, the ancient parliaments, or national aſſemblies, having been long ſince aboliſhed. But the people, deceived by the name, and allured by the ſucceſsful uſurpations of the Engliſh parliament, conſidered the parliament of Paris as the *Parent of the State*[2]: and under its ſanction, and that of the archbiſhop, they thought every violence juſtifiable a-

2. Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* tom. i. chap. iii.

gainſt

gainſt the court; or, as was pretended, againſt the miniſter. LETTER VIII.

A. D. 1648.

LEWIS XIV. was yet in his minority, and had diſcovered no ſymptoms of that ambitious ſpirit, which afterward ſpread terror over Europe. Anne of Auſtria, the queen-regent, repoſed her whole confidence in cardinal Mazarine; and Mazarine had hitherto governed the kingdom with prudence and moderation. Incenſed, however, to ſee a body of lawyers, who had purchaſed their places, ſet themſelves in oppoſition to that authority by which they were conſtituted, he ordered the preſident and one of the moſt factious counſellors to be arreſted, and ſent to priſon. The populace roſe; barricadoed the ſtreets; threatened the cardinal and the queen-regent; and continued their outrages, till the priſoners were ſet at liberty [3].

THUS encouraged by the ſupport of the people, the parliament and the archbiſhop proceeded in their cabals. The queen-regent could not appear in public without being inſulted. She was continually reproached with ſacrificing the nation to her friendſhip for Mazarine; and ballads and madrigals were ſung in every ſtreet, in order to confirm the ſuſpicions entertained of her virtue, or rather to circulate the tale of her amours. In conſequence of theſe diſagreeable circumſtances, and apprehenſions of yet greater evils, the queen-regent left Paris, accompanied by her children and her miniſter, and retired to St. Germains. Here, if we may credit Voltaire, the diſtreſs of the royal family was ſo great, that they were obliged to pawn the crown jewels, in order to raiſe money; that the king himſelf was often in want of common neceſſaries; and that they were forced to diſ- A. D. 1649.

3. *Mem. de Cui Joli*, tom. i.

PART II. A. D. 1649.

miſs the pages of his chamber, becauſe they could not afford them a maintenance [4].

In the meantime the parliament, by ſolemn arret, declared cardinal Mazarine a diſturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom. This was the ſignal of hoſtility and revolt. A ſeparation of parties now took place; and the prince of Conti, the duke of Longueville, the duke of Beaufort, the duke of Bouillon, and their adherents, inſtigated by the factious ſpirit of the coadjutor, and flattered with the hopes of making the wild proceedings of the parliament ſubſervient to their ambitious views, came and offered their ſervices to that body. Seduced by the example of Paris, other cities, other parliaments, and even provinces revolted: the whole kingdom was a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion. But the conduct of the inſurgents was, every where, ludicrous and abſurd. Having no diſtinct aim, they had neither concert nor courage, to execute any enterprize of importance; but waſted their time in vain parade, until the great Condé, who, though diſſatisfied with the court, had engaged in the royal cauſe at the earneſt entreaties of the queen-regent, threw the capital into alarm, and diſperſed the undiſciplined troops of the parliament, with no more than ſix thouſand men. A conference was agreed to, and a treaty concluded at Rouel; by which a general amneſty was granted, and a temporary quiet procured, but without any extinction of hatred on either ſide [5].

While the parties remained in ſuch a temper, no ſolid peace would be expected. The court, however,

4. *Siecle*, chap. iii.

5. *Mem. de Mad. Motteville*, tom. iii. *Mem. de Gui Joli*, tom. i. *Mem. de Card. de Retz*, tom. i.

returned to Paris, and the cardinal was received by the people with expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction. It is this levity of the French nation, the abſurd mixture of a frivolous gallantry with the intrigues of ſtate, with plots and conſpiracies! and the influence that the ducheſs of Longueville, and other libertine women had, in making the moſt eminent leaders ſeveral times change ſides, that has made theſe contemptible wars to be conſidered with ſo much attention by philoſophical writers. LETTER VIII. A.D. 1649.

A FRESH inſtance of that levity was ſoon diſplayed. The prince of Condé, always the prey of a reſtleſs ambition, preſuming on his great ſervices, and ſetting no bounds to his pretenſions, repeatedly inſulted the queen and the cardinal. He alſo, by his haughtineſs, diſguſted the coadjutor, and entered into cabals againſt the court with other factious leaders. By the advice of this intriguing prelate, Condé was arreſted at the council table, together with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, the very heads of the malcontents; and the citizens of Paris, with bonfires and public rejoicings, celebrated the impriſonment of thoſe turbulent ſpirits, whom they had lately adored as their deliverers[6]! A.D. 1650.

BUT the triumph of the miniſter was of ſhort duration. The impriſonment of the princes roufed their partizans to arms in every corner of the kingdom; and the duke of Orleans, the young king's uncle, whom the cardinal had ſlighted, became the head of the malcontents. Mazarine, after ſetting the princes at liberty, in hopes of conciliating their favour, was obliged to fly,

6. *Mem. du Card. de Retz*, tom. ii. *Mem. du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii.

PART II. A. D. 1650. firſt to Liege, and then to Cologne; where he continued to govern the queen-regent, as if he had never quitted the court. By their intrigues, aſſiſted by the coadjutor, who though he had been deeply concerned in theſe new diſturbances, was again diſſatisfied with his party, the duke of Bouillon and his brother Turenne were detached from the malcontents. Mazarine re-entered the kingdom, eſcorted by ſix thouſand men. Condé once more flew to arms; and the parliament declared him guilty of high-treaſon, nearly at the ſame time that it ſet a price upon the head of the cardinal, againſt whom only he had taken the field[7]!

A. D. 1651.

THE great, but inconſiſtent Condé, in this extremity of his fortune, threw himſelf upon the protection of Spain; and, after purſuing the cardinal and the court from province to province, he entered Paris with a body of Spaniſh troops. The people were filled with admiration of his valour, and the parliament was ſtruck with awe. In the meantime Turenne, who, by his maſterly retreats, had often ſaved the king when his eſcape ſeemed impracticable, now conducted him within ſight of his capital; and Lewis, from the eminence of Charonne, beheld the famous battle of St. Antoine, near the ſuburb of that name, where the two greateſt generals in France performed wonders at the head of a few men. The duke of Orleans, being doubtful what conduct to purſue, remained in his palace, as did the coadjutor-archbiſhop, now cardinal de Retz. The parliament waited the event of the battle, before it publiſhed any decree. The people, equally afraid of the troops of both parties, had ſhut the city gates, and would ſuffer nobody either to go in or out. The combat long remained ſuſpended, and many gallant noblemen were

A. D. 1652.

7. Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* chap. iv.

killed

killed or wounded. At laſt it was decided in favour of the prince of Condé, by a very ſingular piece of female intrepidity. The daughter of the duke of Orleans, more reſolute than her father, had the boldneſs to order the cannon of the Baſtile to be fired upon the king's troops, and Turenne was obliged to retire [8]. "Theſe "cannon have killed her huſband!" ſaid Mazarine, when informed of that circumſtance, knowing how ambitious ſhe was of being married to a crowned head, and that ſhe hoped to be queen of France [9]. LETTER VIII. A. D. 1652.

ENCOURAGED by this ſucceſs, the parliament declared the duke of Orleans *Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom*; an incomprehenſible title that had formerly been beſtowed on the duke of Mayenne, during the time of the League: and the prince of Condé was ſtyled *Commander in Chief of the Armies of France*. Theſe new dignities, however, were of ſhort duration. A popular tumult, in which ſeveral citizens were killed, and of which the prince of Condé was ſuppoſed to be the author, obliged him to quit Paris, where he found his credit faſt declining; and the king, in order to appeaſe his ſubjects, being now of age, diſmiſſed Mazarine, who retired to Sedan. A. D. 1653.

THAT meaſure had the deſired effect. The people every where returned to their allegiance; and Lewis entered his capital, amid the acclamations of perſons of all ranks. The duke of Orleans was baniſhed the court, and cardinal de Retz committed to priſon. Condé, being condemned to loſe his head, continued his unhappy engagements with Spain. The parliament was humbled, and Mazarine recalled [10]; when, finding his power A. D. 1655.

8. *Mem. de Mad. Motteville*, tom. v. *Mem. de Gui Joli*, tom. ii.
9. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. iv.
10. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

more

PART II. A. D. 1654.

more firmly eſtabliſhed than ever, the ſubtle Italian, in the exultation of his heart at the univerſal homage that was paid him, looked down with an eye of contempt on the levity of the French nation, and determined to make them feel the preſſure of his adminiſtration, of which they had formerly complained without reaſon.

DURING theſe ludicrous, but pernicious wars, which for ſeveral years diſtracted France, the Spaniards, though feebie, were not altogether inactive. They had recovered Barcelona, after a tedious ſiege; they had taken Caſal from the duke of Savoy, and attached the duke of Mantua to their intereſt, by reſtoring that place to him: they had reduced Gravelines, and again made themſelves maſters of Dunkirk. But Lewis XIV. being now in full poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and Turenne oppoſed to Condé, the face of affairs was ſoon changed; in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of Don Lewis de Haro, nephew to the late miniſter Olivarez, who governed Spain and Philip IV. with as abſolute an aſcendant as Mazarine did France and her young king.

THE firſt event that gave a turn to the war was the relief of Arras. The ſiege of this city was undertaken by the prince of Condé, the archduke Leopold, and the count de Fuenſaldagna, and preſſed with great vigour. The marſhals Turenne and de la Ferté, who had formed the ſiege of Stenay, a place ſtrong and well defended, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, and tried every method to oblige them to abandon their enterprize, but without effect. At length Stenay ſurrendered, and another diviſion of the French army, under the marſhal de Hoquincourt, joined Turenne; who, contrary to the opinion of his principal officers, reſolved to force the Spaniſh lines. This he performed with great ſucceſs, and made himſelf maſter

of

of the baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the enemy[11]. Condé, however, gained no leſs honour than his rival. After defeating the marſhal de Hoquincourt, and repulſing de la Ferté, he retreated glorioufly himſelf, by covering the flight of the vanquiſhed Spaniards, and ſaving the ſhattered remains of their army. "I am "informed," ſaid Philip IV. in his letter of acknowledgment to the prince, "that every thing was loſt, and "that you have recovered every thing[12]." A.D. 1654.

THIS ſucceſs, which Mazarine vainly aſcribed to himſelf, becauſe he and the king were, at the time, within a few leagues of Arras, was nearly balanced by the relief of Valenciennes; where fortune ſhifted ſides, and the victorious Condé taught his competitor to ſeek, in his turn, the honours of war in a retreat. The ſiege of that place had been undertaken by Turenne and de la Ferté, with an army of twenty thouſand men. The lines were completed, and the operations in great forwardneſs, when the prince of Condé, and don John of Auſtria, baſtard ſon of Philip IV. advanced with an equal, if not ſuperior army, and forced, in the night, the lines of the quarter where the marſhal de la Ferté commanded. Turenne flew to his aſſiſtance, but all his valour and conduct were not ſufficient to reſtore the battle. He carried off his artillery and baggage, however, unmoleſted; and even halted, on the approach of the enemy, as if he had been deſirous to renew the combat. Aſtoniſhed at his cool intrepidity, the Spaniards did not dare to attack him. He continued his march; and took Capelle, in ſight of Don John and the prince of Condé[13]. It was this talent of at once inſpiring confi-

11. *Hiſt. de Vicomté de Turenne*, tom. iv.

12. Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* tom. i. c. 5.

13. *La Vie de Turenne*, p. 296. Hainault, *Chronol. Hiſt. de France*, tom. ii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, tom. i. c. 5.

dence

PART II. A. D. 1656.

dence into his troops, and intimidating his enemies, by the boldneſs of his enterprizes, that made Turenne ſuperior to any general of his age. Conſcious that his force would be eſtimated by the magnitude of his undertakings, after he had acquired the reputation of prudence, he conquered no leſs by his knowledge of human nature, than of the art of war; and he had the ſingular good fortune to eſcape the moſt imminent dangers, by ſeeming to be above them.

THUS, for a time, the balance was held almoſt even between France and Spain, by the addreſs of two able miniſters, and the operations of two great generals. But when the crafty Mazarine, by ſacrificing to the pride of Cromwell, drew England to the aſſiſtance of France, Spain was no longer able to maintain the conteſt. Dunkirk, the moſt important fortreſs in Flanders, was the
A. D. 1658. firſt object of their united efforts. Twenty Engliſh ſhips blocked up the harbour, while a French army, under Turenne, and ſix thouſand Engliſh veterans, beſieged the town by land. The prince of Condé and Don John came to its relief: Turenne led out his army to give them battle; and by the obſtinate valour of the Engliſh, and the impetuoſity of the French troops, the Spaniards were totally defeated near the Downs, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous exertions of the great Condé. Dunkirk ſurrendered ten days after, and was delivered to the Engliſh according to treaty. Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenarde, Menin, Ypres, and Gravelines, alſo ſubmitted to the arms of France [14]: and Spain ſaw the neceſſity of ſuing for peace.

ONE great object of Mazarine's policy was, to obtain for the houſe of Bourbon the eventual ſucceſſion to

14. Id. ibid.

the

the Spaniſh monarchy. With this view he had formerly proffered peace to Philip IV. by propoſing a marriage between the infanta, Maria Thereſa, and Lewis XIV. But as the king of Spain had, at that time, only one ſon, whoſe unhealthy infancy rendered his life precarious, the propoſal was rejected; leſt the infanta, who might probably become heireſs to the Spaniſh dominions, ſhould carry her right into the houſe of an enemy. That obſtacle, however, was now removed. The king of Spain had got another ſon, by a ſecond wife, and the queen was again with child. It was therefore agreed, that the infanta ſhould be given to Lewis XIV. in order to procure peace to the exhauſted monarchy; and, the better to ſettle the preliminaries of a treaty, cardinal Mazarine, and Don Lewis de Haro met on the frontiers of both kingdoms, in the iſle of Pheaſants in the Pyrenees. There, after many conferences and much ceremony, all things were adjuſted, by the two miniſters, to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Philip agreed to pardon the rebellious Catalans, and Lewis to receive Condé into favour: Spain renounced all pretenſions to Alſace; and the long diſputed ſucceſſion of Juliers was granted to the duke of Neuburg [15].

LETTER VIII.

A. D. 1658.

A. D. 1659.

Nov. 7.

In little more than a year after ſigning the Pyrenean treaty, died cardinal Mazarine, and left the reins of government to Lewis XIV. who had become impatient of a yoke, which he was afraid to ſhake off. Hiſtorians have ſeldom done juſtice to the character of this accompliſhed ſtateſman, whoſe political caution reſtrained the vigour of his ſpirit, and the luſtre of whoſe genius was concealed beneath his profound diſſimulation. If his ſchemes were leſs comprehenſive, or his enterprizes leſs

A. D. 1661. March 9.

15. Voltaire, ubi ſup. P. Daniel, tom. v.

bold

PART II. A. D. 1661.

bold than thoſe of Richelieu, they were leſs extravagant[16]. He has been accuſed of avarice, and ſeemingly with juſtice; yet if we reflect that, being an indigent foreigner himſelf, he married ſeven nieces to French noblemen of the firſt diſtinction, and left his nephew duke of Nevers, we ſhall perhaps be inclined partly to forgive him So many matches could not be formed without money:—and the pride of raiſing one's family is no contemptible paſſion. He had the ſingular honour of extending the limits of the French monarchy, while France was diſtracted by inteſtine hoſtilities; and of twice reſtoring peace to the greater part of Europe, after the longeſt and moſt bloody wars it had ever known. Nor muſt we forget his attention to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, which has ſince made the houſe of Bourbon ſo formidable to its neighbours, and which is a ſtriking proof of his political foreſight. His leading maxim was, That force ought never to be employed but in default of other means; and his perfect knowledge of mankind, the moſt eſſential of all mental acquiſitions for a miniſter, enabled him often to accompliſh his views without it. When abſolutely neceſſary, we have ſeen him employ it with effect.

THE affairs of Germany and the northern crowns now claim our attention.

16. Voltaire has placed the talents of theſe two miniſters in a juſt point of view, by applying them to the ſame object, along with a leſs worthy aſſociate, in order to make the illuſtration more perfect. "If, "for example," ſays he, "the ſubjection of Rochelle had been under- "taken by ſuch a genius as Cæſar Borgia, he would, under the ſanc- "tion of the moſt ſacred oaths, have drawn the principal inhabitants "into his camp, and there have put them to death. Mazarine would "have got poſſeſſion of the place two or three years later, by corrupting "the magiſtrates, and ſowing diſcord among the citizens. Cardinal "Richelieu, in imitation of Alexander the Great, laid a boom acroſs "the harbour, and entered Rochelle as a conqueror; but had the ſea "been a little more turbulent, or the Engliſh a little more diligent, "Rochelle might have been ſaved, and Richelieu called a raſh and in- "conſiderate projector!" *Smollet*, tom. i. c. v.

THAT

THAT tranquillity, which the peace of Weſtphalia had reſtored to Germany, continued unmoleſted till the death of Ferdinand III. in 1657, when an interregnum of five months enſued, and the diet was violently agitated in regard to the choice of a ſucceſſor. At laſt, however, his ſon Leopold was raiſed to the imperial throne; for although jealouſies prevailed among ſome of the electors, on account of the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, the greater number were convinced of the propriety of ſuch a choice, in order to prevent more alarming dangers. While the Turks remained maſters of Buda, the French in poſſeſſion of Alſace, and the Swedes of Pomerania, a powerful emperor ſeemed neceſſary [17].

THE firſt meaſure of Leopold's reign was the finiſhing of an alliance, which his father had begun, with Poland and Denmark, in oppoſition to Sweden. But we ſhall have occaſion to notice the events to which this alliance gave birth, in tracing the hiſtory of the northern kingdoms.

SWEDEN had been raiſed to the higheſt pitch of military reputation by the victories of Guſtavus Adolphus, who was conſidered as the champion of the proteſtant cauſe; but who gratified his own ambition and love of glory, at the ſame time that he protected the liberties of Germany, which his immature death only perhaps prevented him from overturning. And his daughter Chriſtina, no leſs ambitious of fame, though neither in the camp nor the cabinet, immortalized her ſhort reign, by declaring herſelf the patroneſs of learning and the polite arts. She drew to her court Grotius, Voſſius, Deſcartes, and other eminent men, whom ſhe liberally rewarded. But her ſtudies, in general, were too antiquated and abſtract, to give luſtre to her character as a

17. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

woman;

PART II.

woman; and by occupying too much of her attention, they were injurious to her reputation as a queen. She acceded to the peace of Weſtphalia, as I have formerly had occaſion to obſerve, from a deſire of indulging her paſſion for ſtudy, rather than out of any regard to the happineſs of Sweden or the repoſe of Europe. That peace lightened the cares of government; but they were ſtill too weighty for Chriſtina. "I think I ſee the "Devil!" ſaid ſhe, "when my ſecretary enters with "his diſpatches[18]."

In order to enable the queen to purſue her literary amuſements, without diſadvantage to the ſtate, the ſenate of Sweden propoſed, that ſhe ſhould marry her couſin, Charles Guſtavus, prince Palatine of Deux Ponts, for whom ſhe had been deſigned from her infancy. But although this prince appears to have been a favourite, and Chriſtina's conduct proves that ſhe was by no means inſenſible to the paſſion of the ſexes, like our Elizabeth, ſhe did not chuſe to give herſelf a maſter.
A.D. 1650. She prevailed, however, with the ſtates to declare Charles Guſtavus her ſucceſſor; a meaſure, by which ſhe kept herſelf at liberty, ſecured the tranquillity of Sweden, and repreſſed the ambition of ſome great families, who might, in caſe of her death, otherwiſe have offered pretenſions to the crown.

But the Swedes, among whom refinement had made little progreſs, but whoſe martal ſpirit was now at its height, and among whom policy was well underſtood, could not bear to ſee the daughter of the great Guſtavus devote her time and her talents ſolely to the ſtudy of dead languages; to the diſputes about vortexes, innate ideas, and other unavailing ſpeculations; to a taſte for medals, ſtatues, pictures, and public ſpectacles, in contempt of the nobler cares of royalty. And they were yet more

18. *Mem. de Chriſtine.*

diſpleaſed

displeased to find the resources of the kingdom exhausted, in what they considered as inglorious pursuits, and childish amusements. An universal discontent arose, and Christina was again pressed to marry. The disgust occasioned by this importunity first suggested to her the idea of quitting the throne. She accordingly signified her intention of resigning, in a letter to Charles Gustavus, and of surrendering her crown in full senate. LETTER VIII. A. D. 1651.

But Charles, trained in dissimulation, and fearing the queen had laid a snare for him, rejected her proposal, and prayed that God and Sweden might long preserve her majesty. Perhaps he flattered himself, that the senate would accept her resignation, and appoint him to the government, in recompence for his modesty; but he was deceived, if these were his expectations. The senate and the chief officers of state, headed by the chancellor Oxenstiern, waited upon the queen. And whether Christina had a mind to alarm her discontented subjects, and establish herself more firmly on the throne, by pretending to desert it, or whatever else might be her motive for resigning; in a word, whether having renounced the crown out of vanity, which dictated most of her actions, she was disposed to resume it out of caprice, she submitted, or pretended to submit, to the importunity of her subjects and her successor, and consented to reign, on condition that she should be no more pressed to marry [19].

Finding it impossible, however, to reconcile her literary pursuits, or more properly her love of ease and her romantic turn of mind, with the duties of her station, Christina finally resigned her crown in 1654; and Charles Gustavus ascended the throne of Sweden, under the name of Charles X. After despoiling the palace of A. D. 1654.

19. Puffend. lib. vi. Arckenholtz, tom. i.

PART II. A.D. 1654.

every thing curious or valuable, ſhe left her capital and her kingdom, as the abodes of ignorance and barbariſm. She travelled through Germany in men's cloaths; and having a deſign of fixing her reſidence at Rome, that ſhe might have an opportunity of contemplating the precious remains of antiquity, ſhe embraced the Catholic religion at Bruſſels, and ſolemnly renounced Lutheraniſm at Inſpruck [20]. The Catholics conſidered this converſion as a great triumph, and the Proteſtants were not a little mortified at the defection of ſo celebrated a woman; but both without reaſon: for the queen of Sweden, who had an equal contempt for the peculiarities of the two religions, meant only to conform, in appearance, to the tenets of the people among whom ſhe intended to live, in order to enjoy more agreeably the pleaſures of ſocial intercourſe. Of this her letters afford ſufficient evidence, to ſilence the cavillers of either party.

BUT Chriſtina, like moſt ſovereigns who have quitted a throne, in order to eſcape from the cares of royalty, found herſelf no leſs uneaſy in private life: ſo true it is, that happineſs depends on the mind, not on the condition! She ſoon diſcovered, that a queen without power was a very inſignificant character in Italy, and is ſuppoſed to have repented of her reſignation. But, however that might be, it is certain ſhe became tired of her ſituation, and made two journeys into France; where ſhe was received with much reſpect by the learned, whom ſhe had penſioned and flattered, but with little attention by the polite, eſpecially of her own ſex. Her maſculine air and libertine converſation kept women of delicacy at a diſtance. Nor does ſhe ſeem to have deſired their
A.D. 1656. acquaintance; for when, on her firſt appearance, ſome ladies were eager to pay their civilities to her, "What,"

20. *Mem. de Chriſtine.*

ſaid

ſaid ſhe, "makes theſe women ſo fond of me? Is it "becauſe I am ſo like a man?" The celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, whoſe wit and beauty gave her the power of pleaſing to the moſt advanced age, and who was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the multiplicity of her amours than by the ſingularity of her manner of thinking, was the only woman in France whom Chriſtina honoured with any particular mark of her eſteem [21]. She loved the free converſation of men; or of women who, like herſelf, were above vulgar reſtraints. LETTER VIII. A.D. 1656.

THE modeſt women in France, however, repaid Chriſtina's contempt with ridicule. And happy had it been for her character, had ſhe never excited, in the mind of either ſex, a more diſagreeable emotion; but that was ſoon ſucceeded by thoſe of deteſtation and horror. As if not only ſovereignty but deſpotiſm had been attached to her perſon, in a fit of libidinous jealouſy, ſhe ordered Monaldeſchi, her maſter of the horſe, to be aſſaſſinated in the great gallery at Fontainbleau, and almoſt in her own preſence [22]. Yet the woman, who thus terminated an amour by a murder, did not want her apologiſts among the learned: and this atrocious violation of the law of nature and nations, in an enlightened age, and in the heart of a civilized kingdom, was allowed to paſs, not only without puniſhment, but without inquiry! A.D. 1657.

CHRISTINA found it neceſſary, however, to leave France, where ſhe was now juſtly held in abhorrence. She therefore returned to Rome; where, under the wing of the vicar of Chriſt, the greateſt criminals find ſhelter and conſolation; and where the queen of Sweden, a dupe to vanity and caprice, ſpent the remainder of her

21. Ibid. 22. D'Alembert, *Mem. de Chriſt.*

PART II. life, in ſenſual indulgencies and literary converſations, with cardinal Azzolini and other members of the ſacred college; in admiring many things for which ſhe had no taſte, and in talking about more which ſhe did not underſtand.

WHILE Chriſtina was thus rambling over Europe, and amuſing herſelf in a manner as unworthy of her former character, as of the daughter of the great Guſtavus, her ſucceſſor, Charles X. was indulging the martial ſpirit of the Swedes, by the conqueſt of Poland. This he accompliſhed, after ſeveral ſignal victories, in which he diſcovered both courage and conduct. Warſaw, the capital, was obliged to ſurrender; and Caſimir, the Poliſh king, took refuge in Sileſia. But that conqueſt was of ſmall advantage to Sweden. The Poles revolted, in violation of the moſt ſolemn oaths and engagements; and the Ruſſians, the Danes, the elector of Brandenburg, and the emperor Leopold, aſſiſted them in expelling their invaders [23].

A. D. 1658. BUT the king of Sweden, though aſſailed by ſo many enemies, was not diſcouraged. Depending on the valour of his troops, he ſuddenly entered Denmark, then governed by Frederick III. and laid ſiege to Copenhagen; which muſt have ſurrendered, if it had not been relieved by a Dutch fleet. He made a ſecond attack on
A. D. 1659. the ſame capital the year following, though without ſucceſs; and the ardour of his ſpirit being ſtill unabated, he was taking meaſures to puſh the war with redoubled vigour againſt all his enemies, when he was carried off by an epidemical fever that raged in his camp [24].

As the ſon of this warlike and ambitious monarch was yet a minor, peace now became neceſſary to Swe-

23. Puffend. lib. vii. 24. Id. ibid.

den.

den. A treaty of general pacification, for the North, was accordingly concluded at Oliva; by which Poliſh Pruſſia was reſtored to Caſimir, who ceded Eſtonia, and the northern Livonia, to Sweden. The Daniſh monarch, ſtill under the terror of the Swediſh arms, made alſo conſiderable ſacrifices. LETTER VIII. A.D. 1660.

We muſt now, my dear Philip, return to the tranſactions of England, become powerful and formidable under a republican form of government; and which, during the latter part of the period that we have been reviewing, was the terror and admiration of all Europe.

LETTER IX.

The Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *to the Death of* CROMWELL; *with an Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND, IRELAND, *and* HOLLAND.

THE progreſs of Cromwell's ambition is an object worthy of a philoſophic mind. No ſooner was the monarchy aboliſhed, than he began ſeriouſly to aſpire after, what Charles had loſt his head for being ſuſpected to aim at, *abſolute ſovereignty*. But many bars were yet in his way; and much blood was to be ſpilt, before he could reach that enormous height, or the commonwealth attain the quiet government of the three kingdoms. LETTER IX. A.D. 1649.

AFTER the diſſolution of that civil and religious conſtitution, under which the nation had ever been governed, England was divided into a variety of ſects and factions, many of which were diſſatisfied with the ruling powers, and longed for the reſtoration of monarchy. But all

PART II. A. D. 1649.

theſe were overawed by an army of fifty thouſand men, by which the republican and independent faction was ſupported, and of which Cromwell was the ſoul. The Commonwealth Parliament, as that inconſiderable part of the houſe of commons that remained was called, finding every thing compoſed into ſeeming tranquillity by the terror of its arms, therefore began to aſſume more the air of legal authority, and to enlarge a little the narrow foundation on which it ſtood; by admitting, under certain conditions, ſuch of the excluded members as were liable to leaſt exception. A council of ſtate was alſo named, conſiſting of thirty-eight perſons, to whom all addreſſes were made; who gave orders to all generals and admirals; who executed the laws, and who digeſted all buſineſs before it was introduced into parliament[1]. Among theſe counſellors were ſeveral peers, who gave ſtill more weight to the government; particularly the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Saliſbury.

BUT although the force of the army kept every thing quiet in England, and the ſituation of foreign powers, as well as the needy and neglected condition of the young king, who had now aſſumed the title of Charles II. and lived ſometimes in Holland, ſometimes in France, and ſometimes in Jerſey, which ſtill retained its allegiance, preſerved the parliament from all apprehenſions from abroad, the ſtate of parties in the ſiſter kingdoms, of Scotland and Ireland, filled the new republic with no ſmall uneaſineſs.

THE Scottiſh Covenanters, who had begun the troubles, and who bore little affection to the royal family, but who had, notwithſtanding, proteſted againſt the

1. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xix.

execution

execution of the king and of the marquis of Hamilton, who was alſo brought to the block, now rejected the propoſition of the Engliſh parliament, to mould their government into a republican form. They reſolved ſtill to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country; and which, by the expreſs terms of the Covenant, they had engaged to defend. They, therefore, declared Charles II. king of Scotland; but expreſsly on condition "of his good behaviour and ſtrict obſervance of the Co-"venant, and of entertaining no other perſons about "him but ſuch as were godly men, and faithful to that "obligation [2]." Clauſes ſo unuſual, inſerted in the firſt acknowledgment of their prince, ſhewed their intention of limiting extremely his authority; ſo that the Engliſh parliament, foreſeeing the diſputes that would likely ariſe between the parties, and having no decent pretext for interfering in the affairs of Scotland, left the Covenanters to ſettle their government according to their own mind.

LETTER IX. A. D. 16

THE dominion which England claimed over Ireland, intereſted the commonwealth more immediately in the concerns of that iſland, where the royal cauſe ſtill wore a favourable aſpect. In order to underſtand this matter fully, it will be neceſſary to take a retroſpective view of Iriſh affairs.

WE have already ſeen, how the parliament attempted to blacken the character of the late king, for concluding, in 1643, that ceſſation of arms with the popiſh rebels, which was become abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Iriſh proteſtants, as well as requiſite for promoting his intereſt in England. They even went ſo far as to declare it null and invalid, becauſe finiſhed without

2. Burnet. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

PART II. A. D. 1649.

their conſent: and to this declaration the Scots in Ulſter, and the earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munſter, profeſſed to adhere. The war was, therefore, ſtill kept alive. But as the hoſtilities in England hindered the parliament from ſending any conſiderable aſſiſtance to their allies in Ireland, Inchiquin concluded an accommodation with the marquis of Ormond, whom the king had created lord-lieutenant of that kingdom.

ORMOND, who was a native of Ireland, and a man of virtue and prudence, now formed a ſcheme for compoſing the diſorders of his country, and engaging the Iriſh rebels to ſupport the royal cauſe. In this he was aſſiſted by the progreſs of the arms of the Engliſh parliament, from whoſe fanatical zeal the Iriſh catholics knew they could expect no mercy. The council of Kilkenny, compoſed of deputies from all the catholic counties and cities, accordingly concluded, in 1646, a treaty of peace with the lord-lieutenant; by which they engaged to return to their duty and allegiance, to furniſh ten thouſand men for the ſupport of the king's authority in England, in conſideration of obtaining a general indemnity for their rebellion, and the unlimited toleration of their religion [3].

THIS treaty, however, ſo advantageous, and even neceſſary to both parties, was rendered ineffectual through the intrigues of an Italian prieſt, named Rinuccini, whom the pope had ſent over to Ireland in the character of nuncio; and who foreſeeing, that a general pacification with the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare againſt the peace, which the civil council had concluded with their ſove-

3. Carte's *Life of Ormond*.

reign.

reign. He even thundered out a ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould adhere to a treaty ſo prejudicial, as he pretended, to the catholic faith: and the deluded Iriſh, who were alike ignorant and bigotted, terrified at theſe ſpiritual menaces, every where renounced their civil engagements, and ſubmitted to the nuncio's authority. Ormond, who was not prepared againſt ſuch a revolution in the ſentiments of his countrymen, was obliged to ſhelter his ſmall army in Dublin, and the other fortified towns, which ſtill remained in the hands of the Proteſtants. LETTER IX. A.D. 1646.

MEANWHILE the unfortunate Charles, who was then involved in the greateſt diſtreſs, and had taken refuge, as we have ſeen, in the Scottiſh camp, ſent orders to the lord-lieutenant, if he could not defend himſelf, rather to ſubmit to the Engliſh than the Iriſh rebels; and Ormond accordingly delivered up, in 1647, Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and other garriſons to colonel Michael Jones, who took poſſeſſion of them in the name of the Engliſh parliament [4]. He himſelf went over to England, received a grateful acknowledgement of his paſt ſervices from his royal maſter, and lived for ſome time in tranquillity near London; but finding every thing turn out unhappily for his beloved ſovereign, and foreſeeing that awful cataſtrophe which afterward overtook him, he retired to France, and there joined the queen and prince of Wales.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the nuncio's authority was univerſally acknowledged among the catholics in Ireland. By his inſolence and indiſcretion, however, he ſoon made them repent of their bigotted confidence,

4 Ibid.

in

PART II. A. D. 1649.

in entruſting him with ſo much power: and all prudent men became ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſupporting the declining authority of the king, in order to preſerve the Iriſh nation from that deſtruction, otherwiſe inevitable, with which it was threatened by the Engliſh parliament. A combination, for this purpoſe, was accordingly formed, in 1648, among the catholics, by the earl of Clanricarde; a nobleman of an ancient family, who had ever preſerved his loyalty. He alſo entered into a correſpondence with Inchiquin, who ſtill maintained great influence over the proteſtants in Munſter: he attacked the nuncio, and chaſed him out of the iſland; and he ſent a deputation to the lord-lieutenant, inviting him to return, and take poſſeſſion of his government.

ORMOND, on his arrival in Ireland, found the kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or ſecret enmity prevailed. And the authority of the Engliſh parliament was ſtill eſtabliſhed in Dublin, and the other towns, which he himſelf had delivered up. He did not, however, let ſlip the opportunity, though leſs favourable than could have been wiſhed, of promoting the royal cauſe. Having collected, by his indefatigable diligence, in ſpite of every obſtacle, an army of ſixteen thouſand men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garriſons, which had been totally neglected by the republican party, while employed in the trial and execution of their ſovereign. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied againſt their governor: Drogheda, Newry, and other places were taken: Dublin itſelf was threatened with a ſiege; and the affairs of the lord-lieutenant wore every where ſo favourable an aſpect, that the young king entertained thoughts of going in perſon into Ireland.

land [5]. But his hopes were ſoon extinguiſhed in that quarter. LETTER IX.

A. D. 1649

THE Engliſh commonwealth was no ſooner eſtabliſhed than Ireland became the object of its peculiar attention; and much intrigue was employed by the leading men, in order to procure the government of that iſland. Lambert expected to obtain it. But Cromwell, who conſidered Ireland as a new field of glory, as well as a theatre where his ambition might expand itſelf, without exciting jealouſy, had the addreſs to get himſelf named lord-lieutenant, by the council of ſtate, without ſeeming to deſire ſuch an office. He even affected ſurprize, and ſeemed to heſitate, whether he ſhould accept the command. But theſe hypocritical ſcruples being got over, he applied himſelf, in making preparations for his Iriſh expedition, with that vigour which diſtinguiſhed all his proceedings. He immediately ſent over a reinforcement of four thouſand men to colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, in order to enable him to defend that capital; and after ſuppreſſing a ſecond mutiny of the Levellers, and puniſhing the ringleaders, he himſelf embarked with a body of twelve thouſand excellent troops [6].

IN the mean time an event took place that rendered the ſucceſs of the new lord-lieutenant infallible. Ormond having paſſed the river Liffy, at the head of the royal army, and taken poſt at Rathmines, with a view of commencing the ſiege of Dublin, had begun the reparation of an old fort, which ſtood near the gates of the city, and was well calculated for cutting off ſupplies from the garriſon. Being exhauſted with fatigue, in ſuperintending this labour, he retired to reſt,

5. Carte, ubi ſupra. 6. Whitlocke. Ludlow.

after

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after giving orders to keep his forces under arms. But he was ſuddenly awaked with the noiſe of firing, and found all things in tumult and confuſion. The officers had neglected Ormond's orders. Jones, an excellent ſoldier, obſerving their want of caution, had ſallied out with the late reinforcement; and having thrown the Royaliſts into diſorder, totally routed them, in ſpite of all the efforts of the lord-lieutenant. He took their tents, baggage, and ammunition, and returned victorious into the city, after killing four thouſand men, and taking two thouſand five hundred priſoners [7].

SOON after this ſignal victory, which reflected ſo much honour upon Jones, which tarniſhed the military reputation of Ormond, and ruined the royal cauſe in Ireland, Cromwell arrived at Dublin, to complete the conqueſt of that kingdom. He ſuddenly marched to Drogheda, which was well fortified, and into which Ormond, foreſeeing it would be firſt inveſted, had thrown a garriſon of three thouſand men, under Sir Arthur Aſton, an officer of tried courage; in hopes of finding the enemy employment, in the ſiege of that place, until he could repair his broken forces. But Cromwell, who knew the importance of diſpatch, having made a breach in the fortifications, inſtantly ordered an aſſault. Though twice repulſed with loſs, he renewed the attack; and the furious valour of his troops, at length, bearing down all reſiſtance, the place was entered ſword in hand, and a cruel maſſacre made of the garriſon. Even thoſe who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, and whom the unfeeling hearts of the fanatical ſoldiery had ſpared, were butchered next day, in cold blood, by orders from the Engliſh commander; one perſon alone

7. Ludlow, vol i. Borlace, p. 222. fol. edit.

eſcaping,

eſcaping, to bear the mournful tidings to Ormond [8]. LETTER IX. A.D. 1649.

By this ſevere execution of military juſtice, Cromwell pretended to retaliate the cruelties of the Iriſh maſſacre. But as he well knew the garriſon of Drogheda conſiſted chiefly of Engliſhmen, his real purpoſe evidently was to ſtrike terror into the other garriſons: and his inhuman policy had the deſired effect. Having conducted his army to Wexford, the garriſon offered to capitulate, after a ſlight reſiſtance. But this ſubmiſſion did not ſave them. They imprudently neglected their defence, before they had obtained a formal ceſſation of arms; and the Engliſh fanatics, now fleſhed in blood, ruſhed in upon them, and executed the ſame ſlaughter as at Drogheda. Henceforth every town, before which Cromwell preſented himſelf, opened its gates on the firſt ſummons. He had no farther difficulties to encounter but what aroſe from fatigue and the declining ſeaſon. Fluxes and contagious diſtempers crept in among his ſoldiers, who died in great numbers; and he had advanced ſo far with his decayed army, that he found it difficult either to ſubſiſt in the enemy's country, or to retreat to the parliamentary garriſons. His ſituation was truly perilous.

But Cromwell's good fortune ſoon relieved him from his diſtreſs. Corke, Kinſale, and all the Engliſh garriſons in Munſter, reſolving to ſhare the glory of their countrymen, deſerted to him, in that extremity, and opened their gates for the reception of his ſickly troops. This deſertion put an end to Ormond's authority. The Iriſh, at all times diſorderly, could no longer be kept in obedience by a proteſtant governor, whom their prieſts

8 Carte's *Life of Ormond*. Ludlow's *Mem.*

repreſented

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repreſented as the cauſe of all their calamities. Seeing affairs ſo deſperate as to admit of no remedy, Ormond left the iſland; and Cromwell, well acquainted with the influence of religious prejudices, politically freed himſelf from all farther oppoſition, by permitting the Iriſh officers and ſoldiers to engage in foreign ſervice. Above forty thouſand catholics embraced this voluntary baniſhment[9].

THESE unexpected events, which blaſted all the hopes of the young king from Ireland, induced him to liſten to the offers of the Scottiſh Covenanters, and appoint a meeting with their commiſſioners at Breda. Thoſe commiſſioners had no power of treating. Charles was required to ſubmit, without reſerve, to the moſt ignominious terms ſurely ever impoſed by a people upon their prince. They inſiſted, that he ſhould iſſue a proclamation baniſhing from court all excommunicated perſons; or, in other words, all who under Hamilton and Montroſe had ventured their lives for his family; that no Engliſh ſubject, who had ſerved againſt the parliament, ſhould be allowed to approach him; that he ſhould bind himſelf by his royal promiſe to take the Covenant; that he ſhould ratify all acts of parliament by which preſbyterian diſcipline and worſhip were eſtabliſhed; that, in all civil affairs, he ſhould conform himſelf entirely to the direction of the parliament, and in eccleſiaſtical, to that of the general aſſembly of the Kirk.

MOST of the king's Engliſh counſellors diſſuaded him from acceding to ſuch diſhonourable conditions. Nothing, they ſaid, could be more diſgraceful than to ſacrifice, for the empty name of royalty, thoſe principles

9. Clarendon, vol. vi. Ludlow, vol. i.

for

for which his father died a martyr, and in which he himſelf had been ſtrictly educated; that by ſuch hypocriſy he would loſe the Royaliſts in both kingdoms, who alone were ſincerely attached to him, but could never gain the Preſbyterians, who would aſcribe his compliance merely to policy and neceſſity. But theſe ſound arguments were turned into ridicule by the young duke of Buckingham, afterward ſo remarkable for the pleaſantry of his humour and the verſatility of his character, and who was now in high favour with Charles. Being himſelf a man of no principle, he treated with contempt the idea of rejecting a kingdom for the ſake of epiſcopacy; and he made no ſcruple to aſſert, that the obſtinacy of the late king, on the article of religion, ought rather to be held up as a warning, than produced as an example for the imitation of his ſon [10]. Charles, whoſe principles were nearly as libertine as thoſe of Buckingham, and of whoſe character ſincerity formed no part, agreed to every thing demanded of him by the Covenanters; but not before he had received intelligence of the utter failure of his hopes from the Scottiſh Royaliſts, in conſequence of the total defeat and capture of the marquis of Montroſe.

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THAT gallant nobleman, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired to France; where he reſided ſome time inactive, and afterward entered into the imperial ſervice. But no ſooner did he hear of the tragical death of his ſovereign, than his ardent ſpirit was inflamed with the thirſt of revenge; and, having obtained from young Charles a renewal of his commiſſion of captain-general in Scotland, he ſet ſail for that country with five hundred foreign adventurers. Naturally confident, he hoped to rouſe the Royal-

10. Burnet, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. vi.

iſts

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iſts to arms, and reſtore his maſter's authority, at leaſt in one of his kingdoms. Theſe expectations, however, appear to have been ill founded. Scotland was wholly under the dominion of Montroſe's old enemies, Argyle and the Covenanters, who had ſeverely puniſhed many of his former adherents. They were appriſed of his deſign; and they had a diſciplined army ready to oppoſe him, of ſuch force as left no reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs. By a detachment from this army, Montroſe and the few Royaliſts who had joined him were attacked, and totally routed. They were all either killed or made priſoners; the marquis himſelf, who had put on the diſguiſe of a peaſant, being delivered into the hands of his enemies by Mackland of Aſſin, to whom he had entruſted his perſon [11].

THE Covenanters carried their noble priſoner in triumph to Edinburgh, where he was expoſed to the moſt atrocious inſults. After being conducted through the public ſtreets, bound down on a high bench in a cart made for the purpoſe, with his hat off, the hangman by him, and his officers walking two and two in fetters behind him, he was brought before the parliament. Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the horrible murders, treaſons, and impieties for which he was now to ſuffer condign puniſhment. Montroſe, who bore all theſe indignities with the greateſt firmneſs, and looked down with a noble diſdain on the rancour of his enemies, boldly replied, That in all his warlike enterprizes he was warranted by that commiſſion, which he had received from his and their maſter, againſt whoſe lawful authority they had erected their ſtandard; that no blood had ever been ſhed by him but in the field of battle, and many perſons

11. Id. ibid.

were now in his eye—many now dared to pronounce ſentence of death upon him, whoſe life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly ſaved from the fury of the ſoldiers; that he was ſorry to find no better teſtimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of a faithful ſubject, in whoſe death the king's commiſſion muſt be, at once, ſo highly injured and inſulted; that, as for himſelf, he ſcorned their vindictive, fanatical rage, and was only grieved at the contumely offered to that authority by which he acted [12].

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THIS ſpeech, ſo worthy of the heroic character of Montroſe, had no effect on his unfeeling judges. Without regard to his illuſtrious birth or great renown, the man who had ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by adhering to the laws of his country and the rights of his ſovereign, was condemned to ſuffer the ignominious death allotted to the baſeſt felon. His ſentence bore, That he, James Graham, ſhould be carried to the croſs of Edinburgh, and there be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high; that his head ſhould be cut off on a ſcaffold, and fixed on the Tolbooth or city priſon; that his legs and arms ſhould be ſtuck up on the moſt conſpicuous place in the four chief towns in the kingdom, and his body be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors. This laſt part of his ſentence, however, was to be remitted, in caſe the Kirk, on his repentance, ſhould take off his excommunication. Furniſhed with ſo good a pretence, the clergy flocked about him, and exulted over his fallen fortunes, under colour of converting him. He ſmiled at their enthuſiaſtic ravings, and rejected their ſpiritual aid: nor did he regard the ſolemnity with which they pronounced his eternal damnation, or their aſſurance that his future ſufferings

12. Burnet, vol. i. Hume, vol. vii.

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would ſurpaſs the preſent, as far in degree as in duration. He ſhewed himſelf, through the whole, ſuperior to his fate; and when led forth to execution, amid the inſults of his enemies, he over-awed the cruel with the dignity of his looks, and melted the humane into tears.

In this laſt melancholy ſcene, when enmity itſelf is commonly diſarmed, one effort more was made, by the governing party in Scotland, to ſubdue the magnanimous ſpirit of Montroſe. The executioner was ordered to tie about his neck, with a cord, that book which had been publiſhed, in elegant Latin, by Dr. Wiſhart, containing the hiſtory of his military exploits. He thanked his enemies for their officious zeal; declaring, that he wore this teſtimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the garter: and finding they had no more inſults to offer, he patiently ſubmitted to the ignominious ſentence [13]. Thus unworthily periſhed the heroic James Graham, marquis of Montroſe, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Great talents he certainly had for war, and alſo for the polite arts, which he cultivated with ſucceſs; but his courage appears to have been accompanied with a certain degree of extravagance, which, while it led him to conceive the boldeſt enterprizes, prevented him from attending ſufficiently to the means of accompliſhing them. Along with Montroſe were ſacrificed all the perſons of any eminence, who had repaired to his ſtandard, or taken arms in order to ſecond his deſigns.

Though this cruel and unjuſt execution of a nobleman, who had acted by royal authority, made the young king more ſenſible of the furious ſpirit of the Covenant-

13. Id. ibid.

ers,

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ers, as well as how little he had to expect from their generosity, his forlorn condition induced him to ratify the agreement with their commissioners, as the only resource left for recovering any part of his dominions. He accordingly embarked with them for Scotland, in a Dutch ship of war, furnished by the prince of Orange, and arrived safe in the frith of Cromarthy. Here his humiliations began. Before he was permitted to land, he was obliged to sign the Covenant, and to hear many sermons and lectures, on the duty of persevering in that holy confederacy. The duke of Hamilton, formerly earl of Lanerk, the earl of Lauderdale, and other noblemen, who had shared his councils abroad, and whom the Covenanters called *Engagers*, were immediately separated from him, and obliged to retire to their own houses. None of his English courtiers, except the duke of Buckingham, were allowed to remain in the kingdom; so that he found himself entirely in the hands of Argyle and the more rigid Presbyterians, by whom he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and at whose mercy lay both his life and liberty [14].

In order to please these austere zealots, Charles embraced a measure, which neither his inexperienced youth nor the necessity of his affairs can fully justify. At their request, he published a declaration, which must have rendered him contemptible even to the fanatics who framed it; and yet his refusal might have been attended with the most serious consequences. He gave "thanks for the merciful dispensations of Providence, "by which he was recovered from the snares of evil "council, had attained a full persuasion of the righte-"ousness of the Covenant, and was induced to cast him-"self and his interests wholly upon God. He desired

14. Burnet, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. vi.

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" to be deeply humbled and afflicted in ſpirit, becauſe " of his father's following wicked meaſures; oppoſing " the Covenant and the work of reformation, and ſhed- " ding the blood of God's people throughout all his do- " minions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, " and the toleration of it in his father's houſe; à mat- " ter of great offence," he ſaid, " to all the proteſtant " churches, and a heinous provocation of HIM who is *a* " *jealous God, viſiting the ſins of the father upon the chil-* " *dren.* He profeſſed that he would have no enemies " but the enemies of the Covenant; and that he deteſt- " ed all popery, ſuperſtition, prelacy, hereſy, ſchiſm, " and profaneneſs, and was reſolved not to tolerate, " much leſs to countenance any of them, in any part " of his dominions [15]."

THIS declaration had not the deſired effect. The Covenanters and the clergy were ſtill diffident of the king's ſincerity; and their ſuſpicions were increaſed, when they compared his education, and the levity of his character, with the ſolemn proteſtations he had ſo readily made. They had therefore prepared other trials for him. They meant that he ſhould go through a public penance before his coronation:—and even to that indignity Charles had conſented. In the meantime, he found his authority totally annihilated. He was not called to aſſiſt at any public council, and his favour was ſufficient to diſcredit any candidate for office or preferment. The ſame jealouſy rendered abortive all his attempts to reconcile the oppoſite parties. Argyle, the chief leader of the Covenanters, artfully eluded all the king's advances toward a coalition. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be objects of general hatred and perſe-

15. Sir Edw. Walker's *Hiſtorical Diſcourſes*. Burnet, vol. i. Hume, appl. vii.

cution;

cution; and whoever happened to be obnoxious to the clergy, was ſure to be branded with one or other of thoſe epithets [16]. LETTER IX. A. D. 1650.

THE animoſities among the parties in Scotland were ſo violent, that the approach of an Engliſh army was not ſufficient to allay them. The progreſs of that army, it muſt now be our buſineſs to obſerve.

THE Engliſh parliament was no ſooner informed of the iſſue of the negociations at Breda, than Cromwell was recalled from Ireland: and vigorous preparations were made for hoſtilities, which it was foreſeen would prove inevitable between the two Britiſh kingdoms. Ireton was left to govern Ireland, in the character of deputy, during Cromwell's abſence; and as Fairfax ſtill retained the name of commander in chief of the forces in England, it was expected that he, aſſiſted by the lord-lieutenant, would conduct the war againſt Scotland. But although Fairfax had permitted the army to make uſe of his name in offering violence to the parliament, and in murdering his ſovereign, he could not be prevailed upon to bear arms againſt his covenanted brethren; ſo inconſiſtent are the ideas of fanatics in regard to moral duty!

CROMWELL, on this occaſion, acted the part of a profound hypocrite. Being ſent, as one of a committee of parliament, to overcome the ſcruples of Fairfax, (with whoſe rigid inflexibility, in every thing that he regarded as a matter of principle, Oliver was well acquainted) he went ſo far as to ſhed tears ſeemingly of grief and vexation, in the affected earneſtneſs of his ſolicitations. But all in vain: Fairfax reſigned his commiſſion; and Crom-

16. Id. ibid.

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well, whoſe ambition no one could ſuſpect, after he had laboured ſo zealouſly to retain his ſuperior in the chief command, was declared captain-general of all the forces in England [17]. This was the greateſt ſtep he had yet made toward ſovereignty, ſuch a command being of the utmoſt conſequence in a commonwealth that ſtood ſolely by arms. Fully ſenſible of the importance of rank he had attained, the new general immediately aſſembled his forces; and before the Scots had ſignified any intention of aſſerting the right of Charles to the crown of England, he entered their country with an army of ſixteen thouſand men.

THE Scots, who had begun to levy troops, on being threatened with an invaſion, now doubled their diligence, and ſoon brought together a ſtout army. The command of this army was given to David Leſly, an officer of experience, who formed a very proper plan of defence. He entrenched himſelf in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, after having taken care to remove, from the counties between Berwick and Edinburgh, every thing that could ſerve to ſubſiſt the Engliſh army. Cromwell advanced to the Scottiſh camp, and tried, by every provocation, to bring Leſly to a battle, but without effect. The prudent Scotſman, aware that, though ſuperior in numbers, his army was inferior in diſcipline to the enemy, kept carefully within his entrenchments; ſo that Cromwell, reduced to diſtreſs for want of proviſions, and harraſſed by continual ſkirmiſhes, was obliged to retire to Dunbar, where his fleet lay at anchor. Leſley followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. Cromwell, who had but a few days forage, ſeemed now on the brink of ruin or diſgrace. He was conſcious of his danger, and is ſaid to have embraced the deſperate reſolu-

[17. Whitlocke, Clarendon.

tion

tion of ſending to Newcaſtle his foot and artillery by ſea, and of attempting, at all hazards, to force his way with his cavalry. But in this he would have found the utmoſt trouble, as Leſley had taken poſſeſſion of all the difficult paſſes between Dunbar and Berwick. And could he even have accompliſhed his retreat, it would have occaſioned, in the preſent unſettled diſpoſition of men's minds, a general inſurrection for the king in England [18]. LETTER IX. A.D. 1650.

BUT the enthuſiaſtic zeal of the Scottiſh clergy relieved Cromwell from all his difficulties. They had ordered the king to leave the camp, on finding he gained on the affections of the ſoldiery; and they had likewiſe carefully purged it of a large body of *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whoſe loyalty had led them to attend their young ſovereign, and who were men of the greateſt credit and military experience in the nation. They now thought they had an army compoſed wholly of ſaints; and ſo confident were they of ſucceſs, that, after wreſtling all night with the Lord in prayer, they forced Leſly, in ſpite of his earneſt remonſtrances, to deſcend into the plain, in order to ſlay the *ſectarian* hoſt. Cromwell, who had alſo been ſeeking the Lord in his way, and had felt great *enlargement* of *heart* in *prayer*, ſeeing the Scottiſh camp in motion, was elated with holy tranſport. "God," cried he, "is delivering them into our "hands: they are coming down to us!" He accordingly commanded his army to advance ſinging pſalms, in proof of his perfect aſſurance of victory, and fell upon the Scots before they were diſpoſed in order of battle, after deſcending the hill. They were ſuddenly broken, and totally routed. About three thouſand fell in the battle and purſuit, and above twice that number Sept. 3.

18. Burnet, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. vi. Whitlocke, p. 471.

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were taken priſoners. Cromwell, improving his advantage, made himſelf maſter of Edinburgh and Leith, while the remnant of the Scottiſh army fled to Stirling [19]. An ague, with which he was ſeized, and the approach of winter, prevented him from puſhing his conqueſts farther, before the cloſe of the campaign.

THE defeat at Dunbar, which broke the power, and brought down the ſpiritual pride of the Covenanters, who reproached their God with the ſlaughter of his elect, and of deceiving them by falſe revelations, was by no means diſagreeable to the king. He conſidered the armies that fought, on both ſides, as almoſt equally his enemies; and he hoped that the vanquiſhed, for their own preſervation, would now be obliged to allow him ſome more authority. He was not deceived. The Scottiſh parliament, which met ſoon after at Perth, agreed to admit Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the *Engagers*, to ſhare in the civil and military employments of the kingdom, on their doing public penance. Some *Malignants*, or epiſcopal Royaliſts, alſo crept in among them: and the king's intended penance was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed with great pomp and ſolemnity at Scone [20].

BUT Charles, amid all this appearance of reſpect, was ſtill in a condition that very ill ſuited his temper and diſpoſition. He remained in the hands of the moſt rigid Covenanters, and was in reality little better than a priſoner. Expoſed to all the rudeneſs and pedantry of the preſbyterian clergy, and obliged to liſten to prayers and ſermons, from morn to night, he had no opportunity for the diſplay of his agreeable qualities; his wit,

19. Id. ibid. Sir Edw. Walker, *Hiſt. Diſc.* Ludlow's *Mem.* vol. i.
20. Burnet. Walker. Clarendon.

his

his gaiety, and his talent of eaſy converſation! and could not help frequently betraying, amid ſo many objects of ridicule and diſguſt, evident ſymptoms of wearineſs or contempt. For although artful in the practice of courtly diſſimulation, he could never mould his features into that ſtarched grimace, which the Covenanters regarded as the infallible ſign of converſion. His ſpiritual guides, therefore, never thought him ſufficiently regenerated, but were continually ſtriving to bring him into a more perfect ſtate of grace [21]. LETTER IX. A. D. 1650.

SHOCKED at all theſe indignities, and ſtill more tired with the formalities to which he was obliged to ſubmit, Charles attempted to regain his liberty, by joining a body of Royaliſts, who promiſed to ſupport him. He accordingly made his eſcape from Argyle and the Covenanters; but being purſued by colonel Montgomery and a troop of horſe, he was induced to return, on finding the Royaliſts leſs powerful than he expected. This elopement, however, had a good effect. The king was afterward better treated, and entruſted with more authority; the Covenanters being afraid of renewing their rigours, leſt he ſhould embrace ſome deſperate meaſure [22]. A. D. 1651.

THE Scottiſh army was aſſembled, under Hamilton and Leſly, as early as the ſeaſon would permit, and Charles was allowed to join the camp. But, imminent as the danger was, the Scots were ſtill divided by eccleſiaſtical diſputes. The forces of the weſtern counties, diſclaiming the authority of the parliament, would not act in conjunction with an army that admitted any *Engagers*, or *Malignants* among them. They called themſelves the *Proteſters*, and the other party were denomi-

21. Burnet, vol. i. 22. Id. ibid.

nated

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nated the *Reſolutioners*; diſtinctions which continued long to agitate the kingdom with theological hatred and animoſity [23].

CHARLES, having put himſelf at the head of his troops, encamped at the Torwood, in a very advantageous ſituation. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the plentiful county of Fife ſupplied him with proviſions. His front, to which the Engliſh army advanced, was defended by ſtrong entrenchments; and his ſoldiers, as well as his generals, being rendered more deliberately cautious by experience, Cromwell in vain attempted to draw them from their poſt by offering them battle. After the two armies had faced each other about ſix weeks, Cromwell ſent a detachment over the Forth, into Fife, in order to cut off the king's proviſions; and, ſo intent was he on that object, that, loſing ſight of all beſide, he paſſed over with his whole army, and effectually accompliſhed his purpoſe. The king found it impoſſible to keep his poſt any longer.

IN this deſperate extremity, Charles embraced a reſolution worthy of a prince contending for empire. He lifted his camp, and boldly marched into England, with an army of fourteen thouſand men. Cromwell, whoſe mind was more vigorous than comprehenſive, was equally ſurpriſed and alarmed at this movement. But if he had been guilty of an error, in the ardour of diſtreſſing his enemy, he took the moſt effectual means to repair it. He diſpatched Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army: he left Monk to complete the reduction of Scotland; and he himſelf followed the king with all poſſible expedition.

23. Burnet, vol. i.

LETTER IX.

CHARLES had certainly reaſon to expect, from the general hatred which prevailed againſt the parliament, that his preſence would produce a general inſurrection in England. But he found himſelf diſappointed. The Engliſh Preſbyterians, having no notice of his deſign, were not prepared to join him; and the Cavaliers, or old Royaliſts, to whom his approach was equally unknown, were farther deterred from ſuch a meaſure, by the neceſſity of ſubſcribing the Covenant. Both parties were over-awed by the militia of the counties, which the parliament had, every where, authority ſufficient to raiſe. National antipathy had alſo its influence: and the king found, when he arrived at Worceſter, that his forces were little more numerous than when he left the borders of Scotland. Cromwell, with an army of thirty thouſand men, attacked Worceſter on all ſides; and Charles, after beholding the ruin of his cauſe, and giving many proofs of perſonal valour, was obliged to have recourſe to flight. The duke of Hamilton, who made a deſperate reſiſtance, was mortally wounded, and the Scots were almoſt all either killed or taken. The priſoners, to the number of eight thouſand, were ſold as ſlaves to the American planters [24]. A.D. 1651.

WHEN the king left Worceſter, he was attended by Leſley, the Scottiſh general, and a party of horſe; but ſeeing them overwhelmed with conſternation, and fearing they could not reach their own country, he withdrew himſelf from them in the night, with two or three friends, from whom he alſo ſeparated himſelf, after making them cut off his hair, that he might the better effect his eſcape, in an unknown character. By the direction of the earl of Derby, he went to Boſcobel, a lone houſe on the borders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by

24. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

one

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one Pendrel, an obſcure but honeſt farmer. Here he continued for ſome days, in the diſguiſe of a peaſant, employed in cutting faggots along with the farmer and his three brothers. One day, for the better concealment, he mounted a ſpreading oak; among the thick branches of which he ſheltered himſelf, while ſeveral perſons paſſed below in ſearch of their unhappy ſovereign, and expreſſed, in his hearing, their earneſt deſire of ſeizing him, that they might deliver him into the hands of his father's murderers[25].

AN attempt to relate all the romantic adventures of Charles, before he completed his eſcape, would lead me into details that could only ſerve to gratify an idle curioſity. But there is one other anecdote that muſt not be omitted, as it ſhews, in a ſtrong light, the loyalty and liberal ſpirit of the Engliſh gentry, even in thoſe times of general rebellion and fanaticiſm.

THE king having met with lord Wilmot, who was ſkulking in the neighbourhood of Boſcobel, they agreed to throw themſelves upon the fidelity of Mr. Lane, a zealous Royaliſt, who lived at Bentley, not many miles diſtant. By the contrivance of this gentleman, who treated them with great reſpect and cordiality, they were enabled to reach the ſea-coaſt; the king riding, on the ſame horſe, before Mr. Lane's daughter to Briſtol, in the character of a ſervant. But, when Charles arrived there, he found no ſhip would ſail from that port, for either France or Spain, for more than a month: he was, therefore, obliged to look elſewhere in queſt of a paſſage. In the mean time, he entruſted himſelf to colonel Wyndham of Dorſetſhire, a gentleman of diſ-

25. This tree was afterward called the *Royal Oak*, and long regarded with great veneration by the people in the neighbourhood.

tinguiſhed

tinguiſhed loyalty. Wyndham, before he received the king, aſked leave to impart the ſecret to his mother. The requeſt was granted; and that venerable matron, on being introduced to her royal gueſt, expreſſed the utmoſt joy, that having loſt, without regret, three ſons and one grandſon in defence of his father, ſhe was ſtill reſerved, in her declining years, to be inſtrumental in *his* preſervation. The colonel himſelf told Charles, that his father, Sir Thomas, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five ſons, and ſaid, "My children! you have hitherto ſeen ſerene "and quiet times; but I muſt warn you now to pre- "pare for clouds and ſtorms. Factions ariſe on every "ſide, and threaten the tranquillity of your native coun- "try. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honour "and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. I "charge you never to forſake the *crown*, though it "ſhould *hang* upon a *buſh!*"——"Theſe laſt words, added Wyndham, "made ſuch impreſſion on our breaſts, "that the many afflictions of theſe ſad times could never "efface their indelible character [26]."

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WHILE the king remained at the houſe of colonel Wyndham, all his friends in Britain, and over Europe, were held in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with reſpect to his fate. No one could conjecture what was become of him, or whether he was dead or alive; but a report of his death being generally credited, happily relaxed the ſearch of his enemies. Meantime many attempts were made to procure a veſſel for his eſcape, though without ſucceſs. He was obliged to ſhift his quarters, to aſſume new diſguiſes, and entruſt himſelf to other friends, who all gave proofs of incorruptible fidelity and attachment. At laſt a veſſel was found at Shoreham in

26. Clarendon. Bates. Heathe.

Suſſex,

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Suſſex, where he embarked, and arrived ſafely at Fiſchamp in Normandy, after one and forty days concealment, during which the ſecret of his life had been entruſted to forty different perſons [27].

THE battle of Worceſter, which utterly extinguiſhed the hopes of the Royaliſts, afforded Cromwell what he called his *crowning mercy* [28]; an immediate proſpect of that ſovereignty which had long been the object of his ambition. Extravagantly elated with his good fortune, he would have knighted in the field of victory Lambert and Fleetwood two of his generals, if he had not been diſſuaded by his friends from exerciſing that act of regal authority [29]. Every place now ſubmitted to the arms of the commonwealth: not only in Great Britain, Ireland, and the contiguous iſlands, but alſo on the continent of America, and in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; ſo that the parliament had ſoon leiſure to look abroad, and to exert its vigour againſt foreign nations. The Dutch firſt felt the weight of its vengeance.

THE independency of the United Provinces being ſecured by the treaty of Munſter, that republic was now become the greateſt commercial ſtate in Europe. The Engliſh had long been jealous of the proſperity of the Hollanders; but the common intereſts of religion, for a time, and afterward the alliance between the houſe of Stuart and the family of Orange, prevented any rupture between the two nations. This alliance had alſo led the States to favour the royal cauſe, during the civil wars in England, and to overlook the murder of Doriſlaus, one of the regicides, who was aſſaſſinated at the Hague by the followers of Montroſe. But after the death of

27. Ibid. Locke, p. 523.

28. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xx. p. 47.

29. Whit

William

William II. prince of Orange, who was carried off by the ſmall-pox, when he was on the point of enſlaving the people whom his anceſtors had reſtored to liberty, more reſpect was ſhewn to the Engliſh commonwealth by the governing party in Holland, which was chiefly compoſed of violent republicans. Through the influence of that party, a perpetual edict was iſſued againſt the dignity of ſtadtholder. Encouraged by this revolution, the Engliſh parliament thought the ſeaſon favourable for cementing a cloſe confederacy with the States; and St. John, who was ſent over to the Hague, in the character of plenipotentiary, had entertained the idea of forming ſuch a coalition between the two republics as would have rendered their intereſts inſeparable. But their High Mightineſſes, unwilling to enter into ſuch a ſolemn treaty with a government whoſe meaſures were ſo obnoxious, and whoſe ſituation ſeemed yet precarious, offered only to renew their former alliances with England. And the haughty St. John, diſguſted with this diſappointment, as well as incenſed at ſome affronts which had been put upon him by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, returned to London with a determined reſolution of taking advantage of the national jealouſy, in order to excite a quarrel between the two commonwealths [30].

The parliament entered into the reſentment of their ambaſſador; and, through his influence, in conjunction with that of Cromwell, was framed and paſſed the ſa-

30. The duke of York being then at the Hague, St. John had the preſumption, in a public walk, to diſpute the precedency with him. Fired at this inſult, the prince Palatine pulled off the ambaſſador's hat, and bade him reſpect the ſon and brother of his king. St. John put his hand to his ſword, and refuſed to acknowledge either the king or duke of York; but the populace taking part with the prince, the proud republican was obliged to ſeek refuge in his lodgings. Baſnage, p. 218.

mous

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mous Act of Navigation, which provided, among other regulations of leſs importance, That no goods ſhould be imported into England, from Aſia, Africa, or America, but in Engliſh ſhips: nor from any part of Europe, except in ſuch veſſels as belong to that country of which the goods are the growth or manufacture. This act, though neceſſary and truly political, as a domeſtic meaſure, and general in its reſtrictions on foreign powers, more eſpecially affected the Dutch, as was foreſeen; becauſe their country produces few commodities, and they ſubſiſted and ſtill ſubſiſt chiefly by being the carriers and factors of other nations. A mutual jealouſy, accompanied with mutual injuries, accordingly took place between the two republics; and a deſperate naval war, ultimately occaſioned by a diſpute about the honour of the flag, was the conſequence.

VAN TROMP, an admiral of great renown, had received from the States the command of a fleet of forty ſail, in order to protect the Dutch merchantmen againſt the Engliſh privateers. He was forced, as he pretended, by ſtreſs of weather, into the road of Dover, where he met with the celebrated Blake, who commanded an Engliſh fleet of only fifteen ſail. Elated with his ſuperiority, the Dutch commander, inſtead of obeying the ſignal to ſtrike his flag, according to ancient cuſtom, in the preſence of an Engliſh man of war, is ſaid to have poured a broadſide into the admiral's ſhip. Blake boldly returned the ſalute, notwithſtanding his ſlender force; and being afterward joined by a ſquadron of eight ſail, he maintained a deſperate battle for five hours, and took one of the enemy's ſhips and ſunk another. Night parted the two fleets.

SEVERAL other engagements enſued, without any decided advantage. At length Van Tromp, ſeconded by

by the famous de Ruyter, met near the Goodwins with the Engliſh fleet commanded by Blake; who, although inferior as formerly in force, did not decline the combat. A furious encounter accordingly took place; in which the admirals on both ſides, as well as the inferior officers and ſeamen, exerted uncommon bravery. But the Dutch, as might be expected, were ultimately conquerors. Two Engliſh ſhips were taken, two burnt, and one ſunk. LETTER IX. A. D. 1653.

AFTER this victory Tromp, in bravado, fixed a broom to the top of his main-maſt, as if determined to ſweep the ſea of all Engliſh veſſels. But he was not ſuffered long to enjoy his triumph. Great preparations were made in England, in order to revenge ſo mortifying an inſult, and recover the honour of the flag. A gallant fleet of eighty ſail was ſpeedily fitted out. Blake was again inveſted with the chief command, having under him Dean and Monk, two worthy aſſociates.

WHILE the Engliſh admiral lay off Portland, he deſcried, by break of day, a Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix ſhips of war, ſailing up the Channel, with three hundred merchantmen under its convoy. This fleet was commanded by Van Tromp and de Ruyter, who intrepidly prepared themſelves to combat their old antagoniſt, and ſupport that glory which they had acquired. The battle that enſued was accordingly the moſt furious that had yet been fought between the hoſtile powers. Two days was the conteſt maintained with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy: on the third, the Dutch gave way, and yielded the ſovereignty of the ocean once more to its natural lords. Tromp, however, by a maſterly retreat, ſaved all the merchantmen except thirty. But

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he loſt eleven ſhips of war, and had two thouſand men killed [31].

AFTER this ſignal overthrow, the naval power of the Dutch ſeemed, for a time, to be utterly annihilated, and with it their trade. Their commerce by the Channel was cut off; even that to the Baltic was much reduced; and their fiſheries were totally ſuſpended. Almoſt two thouſand of their ſhips had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh ſeamen. Convinced at laſt of the neceſſity of ſubmiſſion, they reſolved to gratify the pride of
A. D. 1653. the Engliſh parliament by ſoliciting peace. But their advances were treated with diſdain. It was not, therefore, without pleaſure the States received an account of the diſſolution of that haughty aſſembly.

THE cauſes of this diſſolution it muſt now be our buſineſs to inveſtigate, and to relate the circumſtances with which it was accompanied.

THE zealous republicans, who had long entertained a well-founded jealouſy of the ambitious views of Cromwell, took every opportunity of extolling the advantages of the fleet, while they endeavoured to diſcredit the army; and, inſiſting on the intolerable expence to which the nation was ſubjected, they now urged the neceſſity of a reduction of the land forces. That able commander and artful politician, who clearly ſaw, from the whole train of their proceedings, they were afraid of his power, and meant to reduce it, boldly reſolved to prevent them, by realizing their apprehenſions. He immediately ſummoned a council of officers; and as moſt of them had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied upon him for their future preferment, he found them en-

31. Burchet's *Naval Hiſtory*. Campbel's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

tirely

tirely devoted to his will. They accordingly agreed to frame a remonſtrance to the parliament, complaining of the arrears due to the army, and demanding a new repreſentative body. The commons were offended at this liberty, and came to a reſolution not to diſſolve the parliament, but to fill up their number by new elections. LETTER IX. A.D. 1653

ENRAGED at ſuch obſtinacy, Cromwell haſtened to the Houſe with three hundred ſoldiers; ſome of whom he placed at the door, ſome in the lobby, and ſome on the ſtairs. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend, St. John; telling him he had come with a purpoſe of doing what grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly beſought the Lord not to impoſe upon him: but there was a neceſſity, he added, for the glory of God and the good of the nation. He ſat down for ſome time, and heard the debates. Afterward ſtarting up ſuddenly, as if under the influence of inſpiration or inſanity, he loaded the parliament with the keeneſt reproaches, for its tyranny, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, which was a ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, "For ſhame!" ſaid he to the members, "get you gone! and give place to honeſter men; to "thoſe who will more faithfully diſcharge their truſt. "You are no longer a parliament! I tell you, you are "no longer a parliament. The Lord hath done with "you: he hath choſen other inſtruments for carrying "on his work." Sir Henry Vane remonſtrating againſt this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed, with a loud voice, "O, Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord de-"liver me from Sir Harry Vane!" words, by which it ſhould ſeem, that he wiſhed ſome of the ſoldiers to diſpatch him. Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a whoremaſter!" ſaid he; to another, "Thou art an adulterer!" to a third, "Thou art a "drunkard and glutton!" and to a fourth, "Thou art

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"an extortioner!" He commanded a ſoldier to ſeize the mace, ſaying, "What ſhall we do with *this bauble?* "Here," added he, "take it away!—It is you," ſubjoined he, addreſſing himſelf to the members, "that "have forced me to proceed thus. I have fought the "Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me "than put me upon this work!" And having previouſly commanded the ſoldiers to clear the houſe, he ordered the door to be locked, put the key in his pocket, and retired to his lodgings in Whitehall [32].

THUS, my dear Philip, did Oliver Cromwell, in a manner ſo ſuitable to his general character, and without bloodſhed, annihilate the very ſhadow of the parliament; in conſequence of which daring ſtep, he remained poſſeſſed of the whole civil and military power of the three kingdoms. And diſpaſſionate reaſoners of all parties, *who had ſucceſſively enjoyed the melancholy pleaſure of ſeeing the injuries they had reciprocally ſuffered revenged on their enemies*, were at laſt made ſenſible, That licentious liberty, under whatever pretence its violences may be covered, muſt inevitably end in the arbitrary and deſpotic government of a ſingle perſon. Nor were the people, conſidered as a body, diſpleaſed at the violent uſurpation of Cromwell, from whom they expected more lenity than from the imperious Republicans, who had hitherto held the reins of government.

THIS extraordinary man, who now lorded it over his fellow-ſubjects, was born at Huntingdon in the laſt year of the ſixteenth century, of a good family; though he himſelf, being the ſon of a ſecond brother, inherited but a ſmall paternal eſtate. The line of his education was liberal; but his genius being little fitted for the

32. Whitlocke, p. 554. Ludlow, vol. ii. Clarendon, vol. vi. Hume, vol. vii.

elegant

elegant and tranquil purſuits of literature, he made ſmall proficiency in his ſtudies at the univerſity. He even threw himſelf into a diſſolute courſe of life, when ſent to ſtudy the law in one of the inns of court, and conſumed the more early years of his manhood in gaming, drinking, and debauchery. But all of a ſudden, he was ſeized with a religious qualm; affected a grave and ſanctified behaviour, and was ſoon diſtinguiſhed among the puritanical party, by the fervour of his devotional exerciſes. In order to repair his injured fortune, he betook himſelf to farming; but he ſpent ſo much time with his family in prayers, morning and afternoon, that this new occupation ſerved only to involve him in greater difficulties. His ſpiritual reputation, however, was ſo high, that, notwithſtanding the low ſtate of his temporal affairs, he found means to be choſen a member of the Long Parliament. The ardour of his zeal frequently prompted him to riſe in the houſe, but he was not heard with attention; his perſon being ungraceful, his voice untunable, his elocution embarraſſed, and his ſpeeches tedious, obſcure, confuſed, and often unintelligible. But, as a profound thinker very juſtly obſerves, there are, in the great variety of human geniuſes, ſome who, though they ſee their objects clearly and diſtinctly in general, yet, when they come to unfold their ideas by diſcourſe or writing, loſe that luminous conception which they had before attained.

LETTER IX. A. D. 16

NEVER was this philoſophical truth more fully exemplified than in the character of Oliver Cromwell, whoſe actions were as deciſive, prompt, and judicious, as his ſpeeches were wavering, prolix, and inconcluſive. Nor were his written compoſitions much ſuperior to his ſpeeches; the great defect of both conſiſting, not in the want of expreſſion, but in the ſeeming want of ideas. Yet Cromwell, though upward of forty years of age, before

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he embraced the military profeſſion, ſoon became an excellent officer, without the help of a maſter. He firſt raiſed a troop, and then a regiment of horſe; and it was he who inſtituted that diſcipline, and infuſed that ſpirit, which rendered the parliamentary forces in the end victorious. He introduced and recommended the practice of enliſting the ſons of farmers and freeholders, inſtead of the debauched and enervated inhabitants of great cities or manufacturing towns. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he puniſhed, he rewarded; and inſpired firſt his own regiment, and afterward the whole army, with the wildeſt and boldeſt enthuſiaſm. The ſteps by which he roſe to high command, and attained to ſovereignty, we have already had occaſion to trace. Let us now view him in the exerciſe of his authority.

When Cromwell aſſumed the reins of government, he had three parties in the nation againſt him; the Royaliſts, the Preſbyterians, and the Republicans. But as each of theſe had a violent antipathy againſt both the others, none of them could become formidable to the army: and the Republicans, whom he had dethroned, and whoſe reſentment he had moſt occaſion to fear, were farther divided among themſelves. Beſide the Independents, they conſiſted of two ſets of men, who had a mutual contempt for each other; namely, the Millenarians, or *fifth monarchy men*, who expected ſuddenly the ſecond coming of Chriſt; and the Deiſts, who utterly denied the truth of Revelation, and conſidered the tenets of the various ſects as alike founded in folly and error. The Deiſts were peculiarly obnoxious to Cromwell; partly from the remains of religious prejudice, but chiefly becauſe he could have no hold of them by enthuſiaſm. He therefore treated them with great rigour, and uſually denominated them the *Heathens*.

thens [33]. The heads of this ſmall diviſion were, Algernon Sidney, Henry Nevil, Challoner, Martin, Wildman, and Harrington; men whoſe abilities might have rendered them dangerous, had not the freedom of their opininions excited the indignation of all parties [34]. LETTER IX. A. D. 1653.

CROMWELL paid more attention to the Millenarians, who had great intereſt in the army, and whoſe narrow underſtanding and enthuſiaſtic temper afforded full ſcope for the exerciſe of his pious deceptions. Theſe men, while they anxiouſly expected the *ſecond coming* of Chriſt, believed that the ſaints, among whom they conſidered themſelves to ſtand in the firſt claſs, were alone entitled to govern in the meantime. Cromwell, in conformity with this way of thinking, told them he had only ſtept in between the *living* and the *dead*, to keep the nation, during that interval, from becoming a prey to the *common enemy* [35]. And in order to ſhew them how willing he was they ſhould ſhare his power, ſince God in his providence had thrown the whole load of government upon his ſhoulders, he ſent,

33. Burnet, vol. i.

34. Each of the other ſects was deſirous of erecting a ſpiritual as well as a temporal dominion; but the Deiſts, who acted only on the principles of civil liberty, were for aboliſhing the very appearance of a national church, and leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or reſtraint. (Burnet, vol. i.) Such a project was particularly alarming to the ſpiritual pride of the Preſbyterians; who, ſince the ſigning of the Covenant, had conſidered their religion as the hierarchy. And Cromwell not only quieted them on this ſcore, by aſſuring them that he would ſtill maintain a public miniſtry with all due encouragement, but even in ſome meaſure conciliated their affections, by joining them in a commiſſion with ſome Independents, to be triers of thoſe that were to be admitted to benefices, and alſo to diſpoſe of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the biſhops, and of the cathedral churches. (Id. ibid.) The Epiſcopalians were merely tolerated. Burnet, ubi ſup.

35. Burnet, vol. i.

PART II. A. D. 1653.

by the advice of his council of officers, ſummons to an hundred and twenty-eight perſons, chiefly gifted men, of different towns and counties of England; to five of Scotland, and to ſix of Ireland. On theſe illiterate enthuſiaſts, choſen by himſelf, he pretended to devolve the whole authority of the ſtate, under the denomination of the Parliament; and as one of the moſt active and illuminated among them, a leather-ſeller in London, bore the name of *Praiſe-God Barbone*, this contemptible aſſembly was ludicrouſly called *Barbone's Parliament* [36].

CROMWELL told theſe fanatical legiſlators, on their firſt meeting, that he never looked to ſee ſuch a day, when Chriſt ſhould be ſo owned [37]: and they, elated with that high dignity to which they ſuppoſed themſelves exalted, as well as encouraged by the overflowings of the Holy Spirit, thought it their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the Reign of the Redeemer [38]. Meanwhile the Dutch ambaſſadors endeavoured to enter into a negociation with them. But although Proteſtants, and even Preſbyterians, they met with a bad reception from ſenators who had pretenſions to ſuch ſuperior ſanctity; being regarded as worldly minded men, intent only on commerce and induſtry, and whom it was befitting the ſaints ſhould extirpate, before they undertook the ſubduing of Antichriſt, the *Man of Sin*, and the extending of the Redeemer's kingdom to the uttermoſt corners of the earth [39]. The ambaſſadors, who were ſtrangers to ſuch wild doctrines, remained in aſtoniſhment, at finding themſelves regarded as the enemies, not of England, but of Chriſt!

36. Whitlocke. Clarendon.
37. Milton's *State Papers*, p. 106.
38. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xx.
39. Thurloe, vol. i. p. 273, 391.

LETTER IX.

A. D. 1653

EVEN Cromwell himſelf began to be aſhamed of the pageant he had ſet up as a legiſlature, and with which he meant only to amuſe the populace and the army. But what particularly diſpleaſed him was, that the members of this enthuſiaſtic parliament, though they derived their authority ſolely from him, began to pretend powers from the Lord [40]; and as he had been careful to ſummon in his writs, ſeveral perſons warm in his intereſt he hinted to ſome of them, that the ſitting of ſuch a parliament any longer would be of no ſervice to the nation. They accordingly met ſooner than uſual, as had been concerted, and along with Rouſe, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, repaired to Cromwell and his council of officers, declaring themſelves unequal to the taſk which they had unwarily undertaken, and reſigned their delegated power. But general Harriſon, and about twenty other fanatics, remained in the houſe; and that they might prevent the Reign of the Saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and were preparing to draw up proteſts, when they were interrupted by colonel White and a party of ſoldiers. The colonel aſked them, what they did there? "We are ſeeking the Lord," ſaid they:— "Then you may go elſe where," replied he; "for, to "my certain knowledge, he has not been here theſe "many years [41]."

THE council of officers, by virtue of that pretended power which the mock-parliament had reſigned into their hands, now voted, That it was neceſſary to temper the liberty of a republic by the authority of a ſingle perſon. And being in poſſeſſion of that argument which ſilences all others, namely force, they prepared what was called the *Inſtrument of Government*, and declared

40. Thurloe, vol. i. p. 393. 41. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xx.

Oliver

PART II. A. D. 1653. Oliver Cromwell *Protector*, or ſupreme magiſtrate of the commonwealth, the name of king being ſtill odious to their ears. He was accordingly conducted to Whitehall with great ſolemnity, Lambert carrying the ſword of ſtate before him: he was honoured with the title of *Highneſs*; and having taken the oath required of him, he was proclaimed over all the three kingdoms, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition [42].

THE chief articles in the Inſtrument of Government were, that the Protector ſhould be aſſiſted by a council of ſtate, which ſhould not conſiſt of more than twenty-one, nor of leſs than thirteen perſons; that in his name all juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered, and from him all honours derived; that he ſhould have the right of peace and war; that the power of the ſword ſhould be veſted in him jointly with the parliament, while ſitting, and during the intervals, jointly with the council of ſtate; that he ſhould ſummon the parliament every three years, and allow it to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution [43]. The council of ſtate, named in the Inſtrument, conſiſted of fifteen perſons, ſtrongly attached to the Protector; who, in caſe of a vacancy, had the power of chuſing one out of three preſented by the remaining members [44]. He had, therefore, little reaſon to apprehend any oppoſition from them in the arbitrary exerciſe of his authority. And implicit ſubmiſſion to ſome firſt magiſtrate, it muſt be owned, was become abſolutely neceſſary, in order to preſerve the people from relapſing into civil ſlaughter: ſo that we may partly admit Cromwell's plea of the *public good*, as an apology for his uſurpation; though we ſhould not give entire credit to his declaration, that

42. Clarendon. Whitlocke. 43. Ibid.
44. Whitlocke.

he

he would rather have taken a *ſhepherd's ſtaff* than the *protectorſhip*[45]. LETTER IX. A. D. 1653.

WHILE Cromwell was thus completing his uſurpation over his fellow-ſubjects, he did not neglect the honour or the intereſts of the nation. Never did England appear more formidable than during his adminiſtration. A fleet of an hundred ſail was fitted out, under the command of Monk and Dean. They met with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, near the coaſt of Flanders; and the officers and ſeamen on both ſides, fired with emulation, and animated with the deſire of remaining ſole lords of the ocean, diſputed the victory with the moſt fierce and obſtinate courage. Though Dean was killed in the heat of the action, the Dutch were obliged to retire, with great loſs, after a battle of two days; and as Blake had joined his countrymen with eighteen ſail, toward the cloſe of the engagement, the Engliſh fleet lay off the coaſt of Holland, and totally interupted the commerce of the republic.

45. Burnet, vol. i. Cowley's obſervations on this ſubject are more ſprightly than ſound. "The government was broke," ſays he, "who "broke it? It was diſſolved, who diſſolved it? It was extinguiſhed— "who was it but Cromwell, who not only put out the light, but caſt "away even the very ſnuff of it? As if a man ſhould *murder* a *whole* "*family*, and then poſſeſs himſelf of the *whole houſe*, becauſe it is *better* "*he*, than that only *rats* ſhould *live there!*" *(Diſcourſe on the Gov. of Ol. Crom.)* The reflexions of Hobbes, on the neceſſity of the ſubmiſſion of the people in ſuch emergency, are more to the purpoſe. "The *obliga*"*tion* of *ſubjects* to the *ſovereign* is underſtood to laſt as long, and no long"er, than the *power* laſteth, by which he is able to *protect them*; for "the *right* men have *by nature* to *protect themſelves, when none elſe can protect* "*them*, can by no *covenant* be *relinquiſhed*. The *ſovereignty* is the *ſoul* of "the *commonwealth*; which, once departed from the *body*, the *members* do "no more receive their *motion from it*. The *end* of *obedience* is PRO"TECTION; which, *wherefoever a man ſeeth it*, nature applieth his *obe*"*dience* to *that power*, and his *endeavour* to *maintain* it." *Leviathan*, p. 114, fol. edit.

BUT

PART II. A. D. 1653. BUT the States made one effort more to retrieve the honour of their flag: and never, on any occaſion, did their vigour appear more conſpicuous. They not only repaired and manned their fleet in a few weeks, but launched and rigged ſome ſhips of a larger ſize than any they had hitherto ſent to ſea. With this new armament Tromp iſſued forth, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than yield the conteſt. He ſoon met with the Engliſh fleet, commanded by Monk: both ſides ruſhed into the combat; and the battle raged from morning till night, without any ſenſible advantage in favour of either party. Next day the action was continued, and the ſetting ſun beheld the conteſt undecided. The third morning the ſtruggle was renewed; and victory ſeemed ſtill doubtful, when Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, with his ſword drawn, was ſhot through the heart with a muſket ball. That event, at once, decided the ſovereignty of the ocean. The Dutch loſt thirty ſhips; and were glad to purchaſe a peace, by A. D. 1654. yielding to the Engliſh the honour of the flag, and making ſuch other conceſſions as were required of them [46].

THIS ſucceſsful concluſion of the Dutch war, which ſtrengthened Cromwell's authority, both at home and abroad, encouraged him to ſummon a free parliament, according to the ſtipulation in the Inſtrument of Government. He took the precaution, however, to exclude all the Royaliſts who had borne arms for the king, and all their ſons. Thirty members were returned from Scotland, and as many from Ireland. But the Protector was ſoon made ſenſible, that even this circumſcribed freedom of election was incompatible with his uſurped

46. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

dominion.

dominion. The new parliament began its deliberations with queſtioning his right to that authority which he had aſſumed over the nation. Cromwell ſaw his miſtake, and endeavoured to correct it. Enraged at the refractory ſpirit of the commons, he ſent for them to the Painted Chamber; where, after inveighing againſt their conduct, and endeavouring to ſhew the abſurdity of diſputing the legality of that Inſtrument, by which they themſelves were convoked, he required them to ſign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propoſe or conſent to any alteration in the government, as it was ſettled in a ſingle perſon and a parliament. And he placed guards at the door of the lower houſe, who allowed none but ſubſcribers to enter [47]. Moſt of the members, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted to this deſpotiſm; but retained, notwithſtanding, the ſame independent ſpirit which they had diſcovered at their firſt meeting. Cromwell, therefore, found it neceſſary to put an end to their debates. He accordingly diſſolved the parliament, before it had ſat five months; the time preſcribed by that Inſtrument of Government, which he had lately ſworn to obſerve.

LETTER IX.

A.D. 1654.

A.D. 1655.

THE diſcontents of the parliament communicated themſelves to the nation, Sir Henry Vane and the old Republicans, who maintained the indiſſoluble authority of the Long Parliament, encouraged the murmurs againſt the Protector; and the Royaliſts obſerving the general diſſatisfaction, without conſidering the diverſity of parties, thought every one had embraced the ſame views with themſelves. They accordingly entered into a conſpiracy throughout every part of England; and the moſt ſanguine hopes were entertained of ſucceſs. But Cromwell, having information of their purpoſe, was

47. Thurloe, vol. ii.

enabled

PART II. A. D. 1635.

enabled effectually to defeat it. Many of them were immediately thrown into priſon, and the reſt were generally diſcouraged from riſing. In one place only the conſpiracy broke out into action. Jones, Penruddock, and other gentlemen of the Weſt, proclaimed the king at Saliſbury; but they received no acceſſion of force equal to their expectations, and were ſoon ſuppreſſed. The chief conſpirators were capitally puniſhed: the lower claſs were ſold for ſlaves, and tranſported to Barbadoes[48].

THE eaſy ſuppreſſion of this conſpiracy more firmly eſtabliſhed the Protector's authority. It at once ſhewed the turbulent ſpirit and the impotence of his enemies, and afforded him a plauſible pretext for all his tyrannical ſeverities. He reſolved no longer to keep any terms with the Royaliſts. With conſent of his council, he therefore iſſued an edict, for exacting the tenth penny from the whole party: and in order to raiſe that impoſition, which commonly paſſed by the name of *decimation*, he conſtituted twelve major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom of England into ſo many military juriſdictions[49]. Theſe officers, aſſiſted by commiſſioners, had power to ſubject whom they pleaſed to decimation, to levy all the taxes impoſed by the Protector and his council, and to impriſon any perſon who ſhould be expoſed to their jealouſy or ſuſpicion. They acted as if abſolute maſters of the liberty and property of every Engliſh ſubject; and all reaſonable men were now made ſenſible, that the nation was cruelly ſubjected to a military and deſpotic government.

THAT government, however, directed by the vigorous ſpirit of Cromwell, gave England a degree of conſequence among the European powers, which it had never en-

48. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

49. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xx.

joyed

joyed ſince the days of Elizabeth. France and Spain at the ſame time courted the alliance of the Protector; and had Cromwell underſtood and regarded the intereſts of his country, it has been ſaid, he would have endeavoured to preſerve that balance of power, on which the welfare of England ſo much depends, by ſupporting the declining condition of Spain againſt the dangerous ambition and riſing greatneſs of the houſe of Bourbon [50]. But the Protector's politics, though ſound, were leſs extenſive. An invaſion from France, in favour of the Royal Family, which he had reaſon to apprehend, on a rupture with that court, he foreſaw might prove ruinous to his authority, in the preſent diſſatisfied ſtate of England. From Spain he had nothing of equal danger to fear, while he was tempted to begin hoſtilities, by the proſpect of making himſelf maſter of her moſt valuable poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies, as well as of her plate-fleets, by means of the ſuperiority of his naval force. He therefore entered into a negociation with Mazarine; who, as a ſacrifice to the jealous pride of the uſurper, gave the Engliſh princes notice to leave France. They retired to Cologne: and a cloſer alliance was afterward concluded between the rival powers; in conſequence of which England, as we have already ſeen, obtained poſſeſſion of Dunkirk.

LETTER IX. A. D. 1655.

HAVING reſolved on a war with Spain, Cromwell fitted out two formidable fleets; while the neighbouring ſtates, ignorant of his intentions, remained in anxious ſuſpence, no one being able to conjecture where the blow would fall. One of theſe fleets, conſiſting of thirty ſhips of the line, he ſent into the Mediterranean, under the famous admiral Blake; who caſting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained, from the

50. Hume, vol. vii.

duke

PART II. A. D. 1656.

duke of Tuſcany, reparation for ſome injuries which the Engliſh commerce had formerly ſuſtained from that prince. Blake next ſailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to reſtrain his pyratical ſubjects from farther depredations on the Engliſh. He preſented himſelf alſo before Tunis; and having there made the ſame demand, the Dey of that place deſired him to look to the caſtles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmoſt. Blake, who needed little to be rouſed by ſuch a defiance, drew his ſhips cloſe up to the caſtles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery; while he ſent a detachment of ſailors in long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ſhip that lay there. The coaſts of the Mediterranean, from one extremity to the other, rung with the renown of Engliſh valour; and no power, Chriſtian or Mahometan, dared to oppoſe the victorious Blake.

THE other fleet, commanded by admiral Penn, and which had four thouſand troops on board, under the direction of general Venables, ſailed for the Weſt Indies; where Venables was reinforced with near five thouſand militia, from the iſlands of Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher. The object of the enterprize was the conqueſt of Hiſpaniola, the moſt valuable iſland in the American archipelago. The commanders accordingly reſolved to begin with the attack of St. Domingo, the capital, and at that time the only place of ſtrength in the iſland. On the approach of the Engliſh fleet, the intimidated Spaniards abandoned their habitations, and took refuge in the woods; but obſerving that the troops were imprudently landed at a great diſtance from the town, and ſeemed unacquainted with the country, they recovered their ſpirits; and falling upon the bewildered invaders, when exhauſted with hunger, thirſt, and a fatiguing march of two days, in that ſultry climate, they put the whole Engliſh army to flight;

flight; killed ſix hundred men, and chaſed the reſt on board their ſhips [51]. In order to atone for this failure, Penn and Venables bent their courſe to Jamaica, which was ſurrendered to them without oppoſition: yet on their return to England, the Protector, in the firſt emotions of his diſappointment, ordered them both to be ſent to the Tower. But Cromwell, although ignorant of the importance of the conqueſt he had made, took care to ſupport it with men and money [52]; and Jamaica became a valuable acceſſion to the Engliſh monarchy. LETTER IX. A.D. 1655.

No ſooner was the king of Spain informed of theſe unprovoked hoſtilities than he declared war againſt England, and ordered all the ſhips and goods, belonging to the Engliſh merchants, to be ſeized throughout his extenſive dominions. The Spaniſh commerce, ſo profitable to England, was cut off, and an incredible number of veſſels fell into the hands of the enemy. Nor were the loſſes of the Spaniards leſs conſiderable. An Engliſh ſquadron being ſent to cruize off Cadiz for the plate-fleet, took two galleons richly laden, and ſet on fire two others, which had run on ſhore [53]. This ſucceſs proved an incentive to a bolder, though a leſs profitable enterprize. Blake having got intelligence, that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſail, much richer than the former, had taken ſhelter among the Canaries, immediately ſteered his courſe thither; and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, in a very ſtrong poſture of defence. The bay was ſecured by a formidable caſtle, and ſeven inferior forts, in different parts of it, all united by a line of communication. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, had moored his ſmaller veſſels near the ſhore, and ſta- A.D. 1656.

51. Burchet's *Naval Hiſtory.* Thurloe, vol. iii.
52. Id. ibid. 53. Thurloe, vol. iv.

PART II. A. D. 1656.

tioned the larger galleons farther out, with their broadsides to the ſea. Rather animated than intimidated by this hoſtile appearance, Blake, taking advantage of a favourable wind, ſailed full into the bay, and ſoon found himſelf in the midſt of his enemies. After an obſtinate diſpute, the Spaniards abandoned their galleons, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſure; and the wind fortunately ſhifting, while the Engliſh fleet lay expoſed to the fire of the caſtle, and of all the other forts, Blake was enabled to weather the bay, and left the Spaniards in aſtoniſhment at his ſucceſsful temerity 54.

THESE vigorous exertions rendered Cromwell's authority equally reſpected at home and abroad: and to his honour it muſt be owned, that his domeſtic adminiſtration was as mild and equitable as his ſituation would permit. He again ventured to ſummon the parliament; but not truſting, as formerly, to the good-will of the people, he employed all his influence to fill the houſe with his own creatures, and even placed guards at the door, who permitted none to enter but ſuch as produced a warrant from his council. A majority in favour of the Protector being procured by theſe undue means, a motion was made for inveſting him with the dignity of king; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of

A. D. 1657.

54. Burchet, ubi ſup. This was the laſt and greateſt action of this gallant naval commander, who died in his way home. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican, and zeal for the intereſts of his country only made him ſerve under the uſurper. Though paſt fifty years of age before he entered into military ſervice of any kind, and near ſixty before he commanded at ſea, he raiſed the naval glory of England to a greater height than it had ever attained to in any former period. Cromwell, fully ſenſible of his merit, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expence; and people of all parties, by their tears, bore teſtimony to his valour, generoſity, and public ſpirit. *Life of Admiral Blake*, by Dr. Samuel Johnſon. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

the

the Republicans, a bill to this purpoſe was voted, and a committee appointed to reaſon with him, in order to overcome his pretended ſcruples. The conference laſted for ſeveral days; and although Cromwell's inclination, as well as his judgment, was wholly on the ſide of the committee, he found himſelf obliged to refuſe ſo tempting an offer. Not only the ambitious Lambert, and other officers of the army, were prepared to mutiny on ſuch a revolution; the Protector ſaw himſelf ready to be abandoned even by thoſe who were moſt intimately connected with him by family-intereſt. Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, and Deſborow his brother-in-law, actuated merely by principle, declared, if he accepted the crown, that they would inſtantly throw up their commiſſions, and ſhould never have it in their power to ſerve him more [55].

LETTER IX. A.D. 1657.

CROMWELL having thus rejected the regal dignity, his friends in parliament found themſelves obliged to retain the name of a Commonwealth and Protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifeſt uſurpation, it was thought proper to ſanctify it by a ſeeming choice of the people and their repreſentatives. A new political ſyſtem, under the name of *An humble Petition and Advice*, was accordingly framed by the parliament, and preſented to the Protector. It differed very little from the *Inſtrument of Government*; but that being the work of the general officers only, was now repreſented as a rotten plank, upon which no man could truſt himſelf with ſafety. Cromwell, therefore, accepted the *humble Petition and Advice*, as the voluntary deed of the whole people of the three united nations; and was anew inaugurated in Weſtminſter-hall, with great pomp and cere-

55. Thurloe, vol. vi. Ludlow, vol. ii. Burnet, vol. i.

PART II. A.D. 1657.

mony, as if his power had juſt taken its riſe from this popular inſtrument [56].

EMBOLDENED by the appearance of legal authority, the Protector deprived Lambert and other factious officers of their commiſſions. Richard, his eldeſt ſon, a man of the moſt inoffenſive, unambitious character, who had hitherto lived contentedly in the country, on a ſmall eſtate, which he inherited in right of his wife, was now brought to court, introduced to public buſineſs, and generally regarded as heir to the protectorſhip. But the government was yet by no means ſettled. Cromwell, in conſequence of that authority with which he was veſted by the humble Petition and Advice, having ſummoned a houſe of peers, or perſons who were to act in that capacity, ſoon found that he had loſt his authority among the national repreſentatives, by exalting ſo many of his friends and adherents to the higher aſſembly. A decided majority, in the houſe of commons, refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of that other houſe, which he had eſtabliſhed, and even queſtioned the legality of the authority by which it was conſtituted; as the humble Petition and Advice had been voted by a parliament, which lay under conſtraint, and was deprived by military force of a conſiderable number of its members. Dreading a combination between the commons and the malcontents in the army, the Protector, with many expreſſions of anger and diſappointment, diſſolved the parliament [57]. When entreated by Fleetwood, and others of his friends, not to precipitate himſelf into ſo raſh a meaſure, he ſwore by the living God that they ſhould not ſit a moment longer, be the conſequences what they might.

A.D. 1658.

56. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

57. Whitlocke.

THIS violent breach with the parliament left Cromwell no hopes of ever being able to eſtabliſh, with general conſent, a legal ſettlement, or to temper the military with any mixture of civil authority: and to increaſe his uneaſineſs, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by the Millenarians in the army, under the conduct of Harriſon and other diſcarded officers of that party. The Royaliſts too, in conjunction with the heads of the Preſbyterians, were encouraged to attempt an inſurrection. Both theſe conſpiracies, by his vigilance and activity, the Protector was enabled to quell; but the public diſcontents were ſo great, that he was under continual apprehenſions of aſſaſſination. He never moved a ſtep without ſtrong guards: he wore armour under his cloaths, and farther ſecured himſelf by offenſive weapons. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the ſame way which he went: he performed every journey with hurry and precipitation: he ſeldom lay above three nights together in the ſame chamber, and he never let it be known before-hand in which he intended to paſs the night; nor did he truſt himſelf in any that was not provided with a back-door, where centinels were carefully placed [58].

EQUALLY uneaſy in ſociety and ſolitude, the Protector's body began to be affected by the perturbation of his mind, and his health ſeemed viſibly to decline. He was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which changed into a tertian ague, attended with dangerous ſymptoms; and he at length ſaw the neceſſity of turning his eye toward that future ſtate of exiſtence, the idea of which had at one time been intimately preſent to him, though lately ſomewhat obſcured by the projects of ambition, the agitation of public affairs, and the pomp of worldly greatneſs. Con-

58. Ludlow. Whitlocke. Bates.

PART II. A. D. 1658.

ſcious of this, he anxiouſly aſked Goodwin, one of his favourite chaplains, if it was certain that the elect could never ſuffer a final reprobation. "On that you may "with confidence rely," ſaid Goodwin. "Then am I "ſafe," replied Cromwell; "for I am ſure that I once "was in a ſtate of grace!" Elated by new viſitations and aſſurances, he began to believe his life out of all danger, notwithſtanding the opinion of the moſt experienced phyſicians to the contrary. "I tell you," cried he to them, with great emotion,—"I tell you I ſhall not die "of this diſtemper! Favourable anſwers have been re-"turned from Heaven, not only to my own ſupplications, "but alſo to thoſe of the godly, who carry on a more "intimate correſpondence with the Lord [59]!"

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſpiritual conſolation, which proves that Cromwell, to the laſt, was no leſs an enthuſiaſt than a hypocrite, his diſorder put a period to his life and his fanatical illuſions, while his inſpired chaplains were employed in returning thanks to Providence, for the undoubted pledges which they received of his recovery [60]!—and on the third of September, the day that had always been eſteemed ſo fortunate to him, being the anniverſary of the battles of Dunbar and Worceſter. The moſt ſtriking features of his character I have already had occaſion to delineate, in tracing the progreſs of his ambition. It can, therefore, only be neceſſary here to combine the ſeparate ſketches, and conclude with ſome general remarks.

59. Bates, ſee alſo Thurloe, vol. vii.

60. Id. ibid. Goodwin, who, but a few minutes before the Protector expired, ſays Burnet, had pretended to aſſure the people, in a prayer, that he was not to die, had afterward the impudence to ſay to God, "Thou haſt deceived us! and we are deceived!" *Hiſt. of his Own Times*, vol. i.

OLIVER

LETTER IX.

A. D. 1658

OLIVER CROMWELL, who died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and who had riſen from a private ſtation to the abſolute ſovereignty of three ancient kingdoms, was of a robuſt but ungraceful make, and of a manly but clowniſh and diſagreeable aſpect. The vigour of his genius and the boldneſs of his ſpirit, rather than the extent of his underſtanding or the luſtre of his accompliſhments, firſt procured him diſtinction among his countrymen, and afterward made him the terror and admiration of Europe. His abilities, however, have been much over-rated. Fortune had a conſiderable ſhare in his moſt ſucceſsful violences. The *Self-denying Ordinance*, and the conſcientious weakneſs of Fairfax, led him, by eaſy ſteps, to the ſupreme command; and the enthuſiaſtic folly of the Covenanters ſerved to confirm his uſurped authority. But that authority could neither be acquired nor preſerved without talents: and Cromwell was furniſhed with thoſe that were admirably ſuited to the times in which he lived, and to the part he was deſtined to act. He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the power of diſcerning the characters of men, and the rare felicity of employing their abilities to advantage; of diſcovering the motives of others, and of concealing his own; of blending the wildeſt fanaticiſm with the moſt profound policy; of reconciling a ſeeming incoherence of ideas with the moſt prompt and deciſive meaſures, and of commanding the higheſt reſpect amid the coarſeſt familiarity[61]. By theſe talents, together with a coincidence

61. Among his ancient friends, we are told, he would frequently relax himſelf by trifling amuſements; by jeſting, or making burleſque verſes: and that he ſometimes puſhed matters to the length of ruſtic buffoonery and horſe-play; ſuch as putting burning coals into the boots and hoſe of the officers who attended him, blacking their faces, or throwing cuſhions at them, which they did not fail to return. (Whitlocke. Ludlow. Bates.) We are alſo informed by the ſame authors, that, when he had any particular point to gain with the army,

PART II. A.D. 1658.

coincidence of intereſts, he was able to attach and to manage the military fanatics; and by their aſſiſtance to ſubdue the parliament, and to tyrannize over the three kingdoms. But in all this there was nothing extraordinary; for an army is ſo forcible, and at the ſame time ſo rude a weapon, that any hand which wields it may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any aſcendant in human ſociety [62].

THE

it was uſual for him to take ſome of the moſt popular ſerjeants and corporals to bed with him, and to ply them there with prayers and religious diſcourſes.

62. Mr. Cowley expreſſes himſelf admirably on this ſubject. "If "craft be wiſdom, and diſſimulation wit," ſays he, "I muſt not deny "Cromwell to have been ſingular in both; but ſo groſs was the man-"ner in which he made uſe of them, that, as wiſe men ought not to "have believed him at firſt, ſo no man was fool enough to believe him "at laſt; neither did any man ſeem to do it, but thoſe who thought "they gained as much by their diſſembling as he did by his. His very "actings of godlineſs grew at laſt as ridiculous as if a player, by putting "on a gown, ſhould think that he excellently repreſented a woman, "though his beard at the ſame time were ſeen by all the ſpectators. If "you aſk me why they did not hiſs and explode him off the ſtage, I "can only anſwer, That they durſt not do ſo; becauſe the actors and "the door-keepers were too ſtrong for the company." (*Diſcourſe concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell.*) The military eſtabliſhment, during Cromwell's adminiſtration, ſeldom conſiſted of leſs than forty thouſand men. The foot ſoldiers had commonly a ſhilling, and the horſemen two ſhillings and ſix pence a day. (Thurloe, vol. i. p. 395 vol. ii. p. 414) This deſirable maintenance, at a time when living was much cheaper than at preſent, induced the ſons of farmers and ſmall freeholders to enliſt in the army, and proved a better ſecurity to the Protector's authority than all his canting, praying, and inſidious policy. Men who followed ſo gainful a profeſſion were naturally attached to the perſon who encouraged it, and averſe againſt the re-eſtabliſhment of civil government, which would render it unneceſſary.

Cromwell is ſaid to have expended ſixty thouſand pounds annually, in procuring private intelligence: and it was long ſuppoſed, that he was intimately acquainted with the ſecret councils of all the courts of Europe; but ſince the publication of Thurloe's *State Papers*, it appears, that this money was chiefly employed in procuring information of the intrigues

LETTER IX.

A. D. 1658.

THE moral character of Cromwell is by no means ſo exceptionable as it is generally repreſented. On the contrary, it is truly ſurpriſing, how he could temper ſuch violent ambition, and ſuch enraged fanaticiſm, with ſo much regard to juſtice and humanity. Even the murder of the king, his moſt atrocious meaſure, was to him covered under a cloud of republican and fanatical illuſions; and it is poſſible that, like many others concerned in it, he conſidered it as the moſt meritorious action of his life. For it is the peculiar characteriſtic of fanaticiſm to give a ſanction to any meaſure, however cruel or unjuſt, that tends to promote its own intereſts, which are ſuppoſed to be the ſame with thoſe of the Deity; and to which, conſequently, all moral obligations ought to give place.

intrigues of the Royaliſts, and that the Protector had little intelligence of foreign councils, except of thoſe of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed.

LETTER X.

The Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *from the Death of the Protector to the Reſtoration of the Monarchy.*

LETTER X.

A. D. 1658. IT was generally believed, that Cromwell's arts and policy were exhauſted with his life; that, having ſo often, by fraud and falſe pretences, deceived every party, and almoſt every individual, he could not much longer have maintained his authority. And when the potent hand, which had hitherto conducted the government of the commonwealth, was removed, every one expected, that the unwieldy and ill-conſtructed machine would fall to pieces. All Europe, therefore, beheld with aſtoniſhment his ſon Richard, an inexperienced and unambitious man, quietly ſucceed to the protectorſhip. The council recognized his authority: his brother Henry, who governed Ireland with popularity, inſured him the obedience of that kingdom; and Monk, who ſtill poſſeſſed the chief command in Scotland, and who was much attached to the family of Cromwell, there proclaimed the new protector without oppoſition. The fleet, the army, acknowledged his title: he received congratulatory addreſſes from the counties and moſt conſiderable corporations, in terms of the moſt dutiful allegiance, and foreign miniſters were forward in paying him the uſual compliments; ſo that Richard, whoſe moderate temper would have led him to decline any conteſt for empire, was tempted to accept of a ſovereignty which ſeemed tendered to him by univerſal conſent.

BUT this conſent, as Richard had ſoon after occaſion to experience, was only a temporary acquieſcence, until

until each party could concert meaſures, and act effectually for its own intereſt. On the meeting of the parliament, which it was found neceſſary to ſummon, in order to furniſh ſupplies, the new protector found himſelf involved in inextricable difficulties. The moſt conſiderable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, his brother-in-law, and Deſborow, his uncle, who were extremely attached to republican principles, if not to the fifth monarchy or dominion of the ſaints, began to enter into cabals againſt him. Overton, Ludlow, Rich, and other officers whom Oliver had diſcarded, again made their appearance, and alſo declaimed againſt the dignity of Protector; but, above the reſt, Lambert, who was now rouſed from his retreat, inflamed by his intrigues all thoſe dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with ſome great convulſion [1]. As the diſcontented officers uſually met at Fleetwood's apartments, the party was denominated, from the place where he lived, *The Cabal of Wallingford-houſe.*

LETTER X. A. D. 1659.

RICHARD, who poſſeſſed neither vigour nor ſuperior diſcernment, was prevailed upon, amid theſe commotions, to give his conſent inadvertently to the calling of a general council of officers, who might make him propoſals, as was pretended, for the good of the army. But they were no ſooner aſſembled than they voted a remonſtrance, in which they lamented, that *the good old cauſe*, as they termed it, was utterly neglected, and propoſed as a remedy, that the whole military power ſhould be veſted in ſome perſon in whom they could all confide. The Protector was juſtly alarmed at theſe military cabals, and the commons had no leſs reaſon to be ſo. They accordingly voted, that there ſhould be no future meeting, or general council of officers, except with the Pro-

1. Whitlocke. Ludlow.

tector's

PART II. A. D. 1659.

tector's conſent, or by his orders. This vote brought matters to extremity. The officers haſtened to Richard, and rudely demanded the diſſolution of the parliament. Unable to reſiſt, and wanting reſolution to deny, the Protector complied with their requeſt. With the parliament his authority was ſuppoſed to expire, and he ſoon after ſigned his reſignation in form. His brother Henry, though endowed with more abilities, alſo quietly reſigned the government of Ireland [2]. Thus, my dear Philip, fell from an enormous height, but, by a rare fortune, without bloodſhed, the family of the Cromwells, to that humble ſtation from which they had riſen. Richard withdrew to his eſtate in the country; and as he had done hurt to no man, ſo no man ever attempted to hurt him [3]: a ſtriking inſtance, as Burnet remarks, of the inſtability of human greatneſs, and of the ſecurity of innocence!

THE council of officers being now poſſeſſed of ſupreme authority, began to deliberate what form of government they ſhould eſtabliſh. Many of them ſeemed

2. Ibid.

3. Even after the Reſtoration, he remained unmoleſted. He thought proper, however, to travel for ſome years; and had frequently the mortification, while in diſguiſe, to hear himſelf treated as a blockhead, for reaping no greater benefit from his father's crimes. But Richard, who was of a gentle, humane, and generous diſpoſition, wiſely preferred the peace of virtue to the glare of guilty grandeur. When ſome of his partizans offered to put an end to the intrigues of the officers, by the death of Lambert, he rejected the propoſal with horror. "I will never," ſaid he, "purchaſe power or dominion by ſuch ſangui-"nary meaſures!" He lived, in contentment and tranquillity, to an extreme old age, and died toward the latter part of queen Anne's reign. He appears to have had nothing of the enthuſiaſt about him; for we are told that, when murmurs were made againſt certain promotions in the army, he ſmartly replied, "What! would you have me to prefer none "but the godly? Now here is Dick Ingoldſby, who can neither pray "nor preach, yet will I truſt him before ye all!" Ludlow's *Mem.*

inclined

inclined to exerciſe the power of the ſword in the moſt open manner; but as it was apprehended the people would with difficulty be induced to pay taxes levied by arbitrary will and pleaſure, it was thought ſafer to preſerve ſome ſhadow of civil authority. They accordingly agreed to revive the *Rump*, or that remnant of the Long Parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwell; in hopes that theſe members, having already felt their own weakneſs, would thenceforth be contented to act in ſubordination to the military commanders. LETTER X. A. D. 1659.

BUT in this expectation they were deceived. Though the parliament, excluſive of the officers of the army, conſiſted only of about forty Independents (for the Preſbyterians, who had formerly been excluded, were ſtill denied their ſeats), yet theſe being all men of violent ambition, and ſome of them of experience and abilities, reſolved, ſince they enjoyed the title of ſupreme authority, not to act a ſubordinate part to thoſe who acknowledged themſelves their ſervants. They therefore elected a council, in which they took care that the members of the cabal of Wallingford-houſe ſhould not be the majority. They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inſerted an expreſs article in his commiſſion, that it ſhould continue only during the pleaſure of the houſe. They choſe ſeven perſons, who were to fill up ſuch commands as became vacant; and they voted, that all commiſſions ſhould be received from the ſpeaker, and ſigned by him in the name of the houſe [4].

THESE precautions, the purpoſe of which was viſible, gave great diſguſt to the principal military officers; and their diſcontent would, in all probability, have immediately broke out in ſome reſolution fatal to the

4. Whitlocke. Ludlow. Clarendon.

parliament,

PART II. A.D. 1659.

parliament, had it not been checked by apprehenſions of danger from the common enemy. The bulk of the nation now conſiſted of Royaliſts and Preſbyterians. To both theſe parties the dominion of the pretended parliament, and of the army, was become equally obnoxious: a ſecret reconciliation, therefore, took place between them; and it was agreed, That burying former animoſities in oblivion, every poſſible effort ſhould be made for the overthrow of the Rump, and the reſtoration of the royal family. A reſolution was accordingly taken, in many counties, to riſe in arms; and the king, attended by the duke of York, had ſecretly arrived at Calais, with a reſolution of putting himſelf at the head of his loyal ſubjects.

BUT this combination was diſconcerted by the treachery of Sir Richard Willis; who being much truſted by Sir Edward Hyde, the king's chief counſellor, and by the principal Royaliſts, was let into all the deſigns of the party. He had been corrupted by Cromwell, whom he enabled to diſconcert every enterprize againſt his uſurped authority, by confining, before hand, the perſons who were to be the actors in it: and he continued the ſame traiterous correſpondence with the parliament, without ſuſpicion or diſcovery [5]. The Protector, and Thurloe his ſecretary, now ſecretary to the parliament, were alone acquainted with this treachery [6]; and by the penetration and craft of Moreland, Thurloe's under ſecretary, the whole was at laſt diſcovered in

5. Burnet, vol. i.

6. Id. ibid. This was one of the maſter-ſtrokes of Cromwell's policy. Having all the king's party in a net, and pleaſed that the ſuperior lenity of his adminiſtration ſhould be remarked, he let them dance in it at pleaſure; and when he confined any of them, as he afterward reſtored them to liberty, his precaution paſſed only for the reſult of general jealouſy and ſuſpicion. For he never brought any of them to trial, except for conſpiracies that admitted of the fulleſt proof.

ſufficient

ſufficient time to put the king on his guard, though not to prevent the failure of the concerted inſurrection. Many of the conſpirators, in the different counties, were thrown into priſon; and the only conſiderable party that had taken arms (under Sir George Booth, by reaſon of his not being ſeaſonably informed of the treachery of Willis), and which had ſeized Cheſter, was diſperſed by a body of troops under Lambert [7]. LETTER X. A.D. 165

LAMBERT's ſucceſs haſtened the ruin of the parliament. At the requeſt of his officers, whom he had debauched by liberalities, he tranſmitted a petition to the commons, demanding that Fleetwood ſhould be appointed commander in chief, himſelf lieutenant-general, Deſborow major-general of the horſe, and Monk of the foot. The parliament, alarmed at the danger, voted that they would have no more general officers; vacated Fleetwood's commiſſion, and veſted the command of the army in ſeven perſons, of whom he was one. Sir Arthur Hazelrig even propoſed the impeachment of Lambert. But that artful and able general, deſpiſing ſuch impotent reſolutions, advanced with his hardy veterans to London; and taking poſſeſſion, early in the morning, of all the ſtreets that led to Weſtminſter-hall, intercepted the ſpeaker, and excluded the other members from the houſe [8].

FINDING themſelves thus once more poſſeſſed of the ſupreme authority, the ſubſtance of which they intended for ever to retain, though they might beſtow on others the ſhadow, the officers elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were of their own body. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with ſovereign power, under the name of a *Committee of Safety*.

7. Burnet, ubi ſup. 8. Whitlocke. Ludlow. Clarendon.

They

PART II. L. D. 1659.

They frequently ſpoke of ſummoning a parliament choſen by the people; though nothing could be farther from their intentions; but they really took ſome ſteps toward aſſembling a military parliament, compoſed of officers elected from every regiment in the army [9]. The moſt melancholy apprehenſions prevailed among the nobility and gentry, throughout the three kingdoms, of a general maſſacre and extermination; and among the body of the people, of a perpetual and cruel ſervitude under thoſe ſanctified robbers, who threatened the extirpation of all private morality, as they had already expelled all public law and juſtice from the Britiſh dominions [10].

WHILE England and her ſiſter-kingdoms, Scotland and Ireland, were thus agitated with fears and inteſtine commotions, Charles II. their lawful ſovereign, was wandering on the continent, a neglected fugitive. After leaving Paris, he went to Spa, and thence to Cologne, where he lived two years, on a ſmall penſion paid him by the court of France, and ſome contributions ſent him by his friends in England. He next removed to Bruſſels, where he enjoyed certain emoluments from the Spaniſh government. Sir Edward Hyde, who had ſhared all his misfortunes as well as thoſe of his father, and the marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidants. At laſt, reduced to deſpair, by the failure of every attempt for his reſtoration, he reſolved to try the weak reſource of foreign aid, and went to the Pyrenees, when the two prime miniſters of France and Spain were in the midſt of their negociations. Don Lewis de Haro received him with warm expreſſions of kindneſs, and indicated a deſire of aſſiſting him, if it had been conſiſtent with the low con-

9. Ludlow's *Mem.*

10. Hume, vol. vii. edition

dition of the Spaniſh monarchy; but the cautious Ma- LETTER X.
zarine, pleading the alliance of France with the Com- A. D. 1659.
monwealth of England, refuſed ſo much as to ſee him [11].

AT this very time, however, when Charles ſeemed abandoned by all the world, fortune was paving the way for him, by a ſurpriſing revolution, to mount the throne of his anceſtors in peace and triumph. It was to general Monk, commander in chief in Scotland, that the king was to owe his reſtoration, and the three kingdoms the termination of their bloody diſſenſions. Of this man it will be proper to give ſome account.

GEORGE MONK, deſcended from an ancient and honourable family in Devonſhire, but ſomewhat fallen to decay, was properly a ſoldier of fortune. He had acquired military experience in Flanders, that great ſchool of war to all the European nations; and though alike free from ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm, and remarkably cool in regard to party, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the royal cauſe, during the civil wars of England, as a colonel in the ſervice of Charles I. But being taken priſoner, and committed to the Tower, where he endured, for above two years, all the rigours of poverty and impriſonment, he was at laſt induced by Cromwell to enter into the ſervice of the parliament, and ſent, according to his agreement, to act againſt the Iriſh rebels; a command which, he flattered himſelf, was reconcilable to the ſtricteſt principles of honour. Having once, however, engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders, and found himſelf neceſſitated to act, both againſt the marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and againſt Charles II. in Scot-

11. Clarendon.

PART II. land. On the reduction of the latter kingdom, Monk, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, was veſted with the ſupreme command; and, by the equality and juſtice of his adminiſtration, he acquired the goodwill of the Scots, at the ſame time that he kept their reſtleſs ſpirit in awe, and ſecured the attachment of his army [12].

A. D. 1659.

THE connexions which Monk had formed with Oliver, kept him faithful to Richard Cromwell; and not being prepared for oppoſition, when the Long Parliament was reſtored, he acknowledged its authority, and was continued in his command. But no ſooner was the parliament expelled by the army, than he proteſted againſt the violence. And reſolved, as he pretended, to vindicate the invaded privileges of that aſſembly, though in reality diſpoſed to effect the reſtoration of his ſovereign, he collected his ſcattered forces, and declared his intention of marching into England. The Scots furniſhed him with a ſmall, but ſeaſonable ſupply of money, and he advanced toward the borders of the two kingdoms with a body of ſix thouſand men. Lambert, he ſoon learned, was coming northward with a ſuperior army; and, in order to gain time, he propoſed an accommodation. The Committee of Safety fell into the ſnare. A treaty was ſigned by Monk's commiſſioners; but he refuſed to ratify it, under pretence that they had exceeded their powers, and drew the Committee into a new negociation.

12. Gumble's *Life of Monk*. Ludlow's *Memoirs*. Monk is ſaid to have adviſed Cromwell to attack the Scots at Dunbar, even before they left their mountainous ſituation. "They," obſerved he, in ſupport of his opinion, "have numbers and the hills, we diſcipline and deſpair!" (Id. ibid.) A ſentiment truly military, and utterly devoid of that fanaticiſm which governed Cromwell on the occaſion.

LETTER X.

In the meantime Hazelrig and Morley took poſſeſſion of Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament. The parliament was reſtored: and without taking any notice of Lambert, the commons ſent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to certain garriſons which were appointed them as quarters. In conſequence of theſe orders, Lambert was deſerted by the greater part of his troops, was taken priſoner, and ſent to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been caſhiered by the parliament, but who had reſumed their commands, were confined to their houſes; and Sir Henry Vane, and ſome other members, who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, were ordered into a like confinement. Monk, though informed of the reſtoration of the parliament, continued to advance with his army; and, at laſt, took up his quarters in Weſtminſter. When introduced to the houſe, he declared, That while on his march, he obſerved an anxious expectation of a ſettlement among all ranks of men; that they had no hope of ſuch a bleſſing but from the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and the ſummoning of a new one, free and full; which, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation. And it would be ſufficient, he added, for public ſecurity, as well as for liberty, if the fanatical party and the Royaliſts were excluded [13].

A.D. 1659

A.D. 1660

This ſpeech, though little agreeable to the aſſembly to which it was addreſſed, diffuſed univerſal joy among the people. The hope of peace and concord broke, like the morning ſun, from the darkneſs in which the nation was involved, and the memory of paſt calamities diſappeared. The Royaliſts and the Preſbyterians, forgetting former animoſities, ſeemed to have

13. Gumble's *Life of Monk*.

PART II. A. D. 1660.

but one wiſh, and equally to lament the dire effects of their calamitous diviſions. The Republican parliament, though reduced to deſpair, made a laſt effort for the recovery of its dominion. A committee was ſent with offers to the general. Propoſals were even made by ſome, though enemies to a ſupreme magiſtrate, for inveſting him with the dignity of Protector; ſo great were their apprehenſions of the royal reſentment or the fury of the people! He refuſed to hear them except in the preſence of the ſecluded members; and having, in the meantime, opened a correſpondence with the city of London, and placed its militia in ſure hands, he purſued every meaſure proper for the ſettlement of the nation, though he ſtill pretended to maintain republican principles.

THE ſecluded members, encouraged by the general's declaration, went to the houſe of commons, and entering without obſtruction, immediately found themſelves to be the majority. They began with repealing the ordinances by which they had been excluded: they renewed the general's commiſſion, and enlarged his powers: they eſtabliſhed a Council of State, conſiſting chiefly of thoſe men who during the civil war had made a figure among the Preſbyterians; and having paſſed theſe, and other votes, for the preſent compoſure of the kingdom, they diſſolved themſelves, and iſſued writs for the immediate aſſembling of a new parliament [14].

THE Council of State conferred the command of the fleet on admiral Montague, whoſe attachment to the royal family was well known; and thus ſecured the naval, as well as military force, in hands favourable

14. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

LETTER X.

A.D. 1660.

to the projected revolution. But Monk, notwithſtanding all theſe ſteps toward the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy, ſtill maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth; and had never declared, otherwiſe than by his actions, that he had adopted the king's intereſts. At laſt a critical circumſtance drew a confeſſion from him. Sir John Granville, who had a commiſſion from Charles, applied for acceſs to the general, and abſolutely refuſed to communicate his buſineſs to any other perſon. Monk, pleaſed with this cloſeneſs, ſo conformable to his own temper, admitted Granville into his preſence, and opened to him his whole intentions. He refuſed, however, to commit any thing to writing; but delivered a verbal meſſage, aſſuring the king of his ſervices, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him inſtantly to leave the Spaniſh territories, leſt he ſhould be detained as a pledge for the reſtitution of Dunkirk and Jamaica [15].

THE elections for the new parliament were every where carried in favour of the friends of monarchy; for although the parliament had voted, That no one ſhould be elected who had himſelf, or whoſe father had borne arms for the late king, little regard was paid to this ordinance. The paſſion for liberty, which had been carried to ſuch violent extremes, and produced ſuch bloody commotions, began to give place to a ſpirit of loyalty and obedience. The earl of Mancheſter, lord Fairfax, lord Roberts, Denzil Hollis, Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, and other leaders of the Preſbyterians, were reſolved to atone for their paſt tranſgreſſions by their preſent zeal for the royal cauſe [16]. Nor were the affairs of Ireland in a condition leſs favourable to the reſtoration of monarchy. Lord Broghill, preſident of

15. Lanſdown. Clarendon. 16. Clarendon. Whitlocke.

PART II. A. D. 1660. Munſter, and Sir Charles Coote, preſident of Connaught, had even gone ſo far as to enter into a correſpondence with the king; and in conjunction with Sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took poſſeſſion of the government, and excluded general Ludlow, who was zealous for the parliament, but whom they repreſented as in league with the Committee of Safety [17].

ALL thoſe promiſing views, however, had almoſt been blaſted by certain unfortunate circumſtances. On the admiſſion of the ſecluded members into parliament, the heads of the republican party were ſeized with the deepeſt deſpair, and endeavoured to infuſe the ſame ſentiments into the army. The king's death, the execution of ſo many of the nobility and gentry, the ſequeſtration and impriſonment of the reſt, were in their eyes crimes ſo black, that they muſt be proſecuted with the moſt implacable reſentment. When theſe ſuggeſtions had begun to operate upon the troops, Lambert ſuddenly made his eſcape from the Tower. Monk and the Council of State, who were well acquainted with his vigour and activity, as well as with his popularity in the army, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation at this event. But happily colonel Ingoldſby, who was immediately diſpatched after him, overtook him at Daventry, before he had aſſembled any conſiderable force, and brought him back to his place of confinement. In a few days he would have been formidable.

WHEN the parliament firſt met, the leading members exerted themſelves chiefly in bitter invectives againſt the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations againſt the inhuman murder of the late king; no one

17. Clarendon. Whitlocke.

yet

yet daring to make any mention of the ſecond Charles. At length the general, having ſufficiently ſounded the inclinations of the commons, gave directions to Anneſly, preſident of the council, to inform them, That Sir John Granville, one of the king's ſervants, was now at the door with a letter from his majeſty to the parliament. The loudeſt acclamations reſounded through the houſe on this intelligence. Granville was called in; and the letter, accompanied with a declaration, was greedily read. The declaration was well calculated to promote the ſatisfaction inſpired by the proſpect of a ſettlement. It offered a general amneſty, leaving particular exceptions to be made by parliament: it promiſed liberty of conſcience: it aſſured the ſoldiers of their arrears, and the ſame pay they then enjoyed; and it ſubmitted to parliamentary arbitration an inquiry into all grants, purchaſes, and alienations [18].

THE peers perceiving the ſpirit with which the nation, as well as the houſe of commons, was animated, haſtened to reinſtate themſelves in their ancient rights, and take their ſhare in the ſettlement of the government. They found the doors of their houſe open, and were all admitted without exception. The two houſes attended while the king was proclaimed in Palace-Yard, at White-hall, and at Temple-Bar; and a committee of lords and commons was diſpatched to invite his majeſty to return, and take poſſeſſion of the kingdom. The reſpect of foreign powers ſoon followed the allegiance of his own ſubjects; and the formerly neglected Charles was, at the ſame time, invited by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, to embark at one of their ſea-ports. He choſe to accept the invitation of the latter; and had the ſatisfaction, as he paſſed from

18. Clarendon.

PART II. A. D. 1660.

Breda to the Hague, to be received with the loudeſt acclamations. The States-general, in a body, made their compliments to him with the greateſt ſolemnity; and all ambaſſadors and foreign miniſters expreſſed the joy of their maſters at his change of fortune [19].

THE Engliſh fleet came in ſight of Scheveling; and Montague, who had not waited the orders of the parliament, perſuaded the officers to tender their duty to their ſovereign. The king went on board, and the duke of York took the command of the fleet, as high admiral [20]. When Charles diſembarked at Dover, he was received by general Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and honoured with the appellation of Father. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which happened to be his birth-day, amid the acclamations of an innumerable multitude of people, whoſe fond imaginations formed the happieſt preſages from the concurrence of two ſuch joyful occaſions; and the nation in general expreſſed the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction at the reſtoration of their ancient conſtitution and their native prince, without the effuſion of blood [21].

WE muſt now, my dear Philip, take a retroſpective view of the Progreſs of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, before we carry farther the general tranſactions of Europe. Without ſuch a ſurvey, we ſhould never be able to judge diſtinctly of the intereſts, claims, quarrels, and treaties of the ſeveral European nations.

19. Ibid. 20. Whitlocke. Clarendon. 21. Ibid.

LET-

LETTER XI.

The Progreſs of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth, to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

LETTER XI.

THE diſcoveries and conqueſts of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies, and of the Spaniards in America, ſoon excited the ardour, the avarice, and the ambition of other European nations. The Engliſh and Dutch were particularly tempted, by their maritime ſituation and commercial ſpirit, as well as by their great progreſs in navigation, to uſe every effort to ſhare in the riches of the Eaſt and Weſt; and the Reformation, by aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction, left them free from religious reſtraints. Nor did the Dutch long want other motives, which neceſſity made them obey, for entering into a competition with the deſtroyers of the New World and the conquerors of India, in thoſe diſtant ſeats of their wealth and power. Before I relate the bold enterprizes of theſe republicans, however, it will be proper to trace the farther progreſs of the Portugueſe and Spaniards in navigation, commerce, and colonization [1].

No ſooner had Cortez completed the conqueſt of the Mexican empire, than he ordered ſhip-builders to repair to Zacatula, a port on the South Sea, in order to equip a fleet deſtined for the Molucca iſlands. From their trade with thoſe iſlands the Portugueſe drew immenſe wealth; all which he hoped to ſecure for the crown of Caſtile, by a ſhorter navigation [2]. But he was ignorant, that during the progreſs of his victorious arms in the New A.D. 1621.

1. For an account of their firſt diſcoveries and conqueſts, ſee Part I. Let. lvii. 2. Herrera, dec. III. lib. ii. c. x.

World,

PART II. A. D. 1621.

World, the very plan he was attempting to execute had been profecuted with ſucceſs by a navigator in the ſervice of his country.

FERDINAND Magellan, a Portugueſe gentleman, who had acted ſeveral years in the Eaſt Indies with diſtinguiſhed valour, as an officer under the famous Albuquerque, diſguſted with his general, and ſlighted by his ſovereign, renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful maſter, and fled to the court of Spain, in hopes that his merit would there be more juſtly eſtimated. He endeavoured to recommend himſelf, by reviving Columbus's original project of diſcovering a paſſage to India by a weſterly courſe, and without encroaching on that portion of the globe allotted to the Portugueſe by the pope's line of demarcation. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the Spaniſh councils, liſtened with a favourable ear to Magellan's propoſal, and recommended it to his maſter Charles V. who entering into the meaſure with ardour, honoured Magellan with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain-general, and furniſhed him with five ſhips, victualled for two years, in order to enable him to accompliſh his undertaking.

WITH this ſquadron Magellan ſailed from Seville on the 10th of Auguſt 1519; and, after touching at the Canaries, ſtood directly ſouth, toward the equinoctial, along the coaſt of America. But he was ſo long retarded by tedious calms, and ſpent ſo much time in ſearching every bay and inlet, for that communication with the South Sea which he wiſhed to diſcover, that he did not reach the river de la Plata till the 12th of January 1520. Allured to enter, by the ſpacious opening through which that vaſt body of water pours itſelf into the Atlantic, he ſailed up it for ſome days; but concluding at laſt, from the ſhallowneſs of the ſtream, and the freſhneſs

freſhneſs of the water, that the wiſhed-for ſtrait was not ſituated there, he returned, and continued his courſe toward the ſouth. On the 31ſt of March he arrived at Port St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees ſouth of the line, where he reſolved to winter, the ſevere ſeaſon then coming on in thoſe latitudes. Here he loſt one of his ſhips, and the Spaniards ſuffered ſo much from the exceſſive rigour of the climate, that they inſiſted on his relinquiſhing the viſionary project, and returning to Europe. But Magellan, by ordering the principal mutineer to be aſſaſſinated, and another to be publicly executed, overawed the remainder of his followers, and continued his voyage ſtill toward the ſouth. In holding this courſe, he at length diſcovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a ſtrait, into which he entered, notwithſtanding the murmurs of his officers. After ſailing twenty days in that winding dangerous paſſage, which ſtill bears his name, and where one of his ſhips deſerted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and inſpired him with new hopes, while his adventurous ſoul effuſed itſelf to Heaven in a tranſport of joy for the ſucceſs which had already attended his endeavours [3].

LETTER XI. A.D. 1620.

MAGELLAN, however, was ſtill at a great diſtance from the object of his wiſhes; and greater far than he imagined. Three months and twenty days did he ſail in an uniform direction toward the north-weſt, without diſcovering land; during which voyage, the longeſt that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, his people ſuffered incredible diſtreſs from ſcarcity of proviſions, putrid water, and all their attendant maladies. One circumſtance, and one only, afforded them ſome conſolation: they enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of fair

3. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 3. lib. vi. c. 2.

weather,

PART II. weather, with ſuch mild winds as induced Magellan to beſtow on that ocean the epithet of *pacific*. At length they fell in with a cluſter of ſmall iſlands, which afforded them refreſhments in ſuch abundance that their health was ſoon reſtored. From theſe iſlands, which he called Ladrones, he continued his voyage, and ſoon made a diſcovery of the Manillas; ſince denominated the *Philippine Iſlands*, from Philip II. of Spain, who firſt planted a colony in them. In Zebu, one of the Philippines, Magellan got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of well armed troops; and while he fought gallantly at the head
A. D. 1521. April 26. of his men, he was ſlain, together with ſeveral of his officers, by thoſe fierce barbarians [4].

On the death of this great navigator, the expedition was proſecuted under different commanders. They encountered many difficulties in ranging through the ſmaller iſlands ſcattered in the eaſtern part of the Indian Ocean, touched at the great iſland of Borneo, and at laſt landed at Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the aſtoniſhment of the Portugueſe; who, ignorant of the figure of the earth, could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a weſterly courſe, had reached that ſequeſtered ſeat of their moſt valuable commerce, which they themſelves had diſcovered by ſailing in an oppoſite direction!—At this, and the adjacent iſlands, the Spaniards found a people acquainted with the benefits of extenſive trade, and willing to open an intercourſe with
A. D. 1522. a new nation. They took in a cargo of ſpices, the diſtinguiſhed produce of thoſe iſlands; and with that, together with ſpecimens of the commodities yielded by the other rich countries which they had viſited, the Victory, which of the two remaining ſhips was moſt

4. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3.

ſit

fit for a long voyage, ſet ſail for Europe, under the command of Juan Sebaſtian del Cano. He followed the courſe of the Portugueſe by the Cape of Good Hope; and, after a variety of diſaſters, arrived ſafe at St. Lucar [5]. LETTER XI. A.D. 152[illegible]. Sept. 6.

THE Spaniſh merchants eagerly engaged in that alluring commerce, which was thus unexpectedly opened to them; while their men of ſcience were employed in demonſtrating, That the ſpice iſlands were ſo ſituated as to belong to the crown of Caſtile, in conſequence of the partition made by pope Alexander VI. But the Portugueſe, alarmed at the intruſion of ſuch formidable rivals, remonſtrated and negociated in Europe, at the ſame time that they obſtructed in Aſia the trade of the Spaniards; and Charles V. always needy, notwithſtanding his great reſources, and unwilling to add a rupture with Portugal to the numerous wars in which he was then engaged, made over to that crown his claim to the Moluccas for a ſum of money [6]. A.D. 1529.

IN conſequence of this agreement, the Portugueſe continued undiſturbed, and without a rival, maſters of the trade of India; and the Manillas lay neglected, till Philip II. ſucceeded to the crown of Spain. Soon after his acceſſion, Philip formed the ſcheme of planting a colony in thoſe iſlands. This he accompliſhed by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain. Manilla, in the iſland of Luconia, was the ſtation choſen for the capital of the new eſtabliſhment; and, in order to induce the Spaniards to ſettle there, the riſing colony was authoriſed to ſend India goods to America, A.D. 1555.

5. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ix. c. 3.
6. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. iv. c. 5.

in

PART II. A. D. 1555.

in exchange for the precious metals[7]. From Manilla an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippines under the Spanish protection. By their means the colony was so amply supplied with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as soon enabled it to open an advantageous trade with America, by a course of navigation the longest from land to land on our globe[8]. This trade was originally carried on with Callao, the port of Lima, and the most commodious harbour on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered many difficulties in that mode of communication, and the superior facility of an intercourse with New Spain, the staple of the commerce between America and Asia was removed from Callao to Acapulco[9].

The Spanish colony in the Philippines, having no immediate connexions with Europe, gave no uneasiness to the Portuguese, and received no annoyance from them. In the mean time the Portuguese, not only con-

7. When Philip granted this indulgence, unless he meant afterward to withdraw it, he was certainly little acquainted with the commercial interests of Old Spain.

8. Torquemada, lib. v. c. 14. Robertson, *Hist. Spanish Amer.* book viii.

9. Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Old Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the parent-kingdom; as tending to give rise to a spirit of independency in the colonies, and encourage innumerable frauds, against which it is impossible to guard, in transactions so far removed from the inspection of government. But as it requires no slight effort of political wisdom and vigour to abolish any practice which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the sanction of its authority, the commerce between Acapulco and Manilla is still carried on to a considerable extent, and allowed under certain restrictions.

tinued

tinued to monopolize the whole commerce of the Eaſt, but were maſters of the coaſt of Guinea, as well as of that of Arabia, Perſia, and the two peninſulas of India. They poſſeſſed the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the iſles of Sunda, with the trade of China and Japan; and they had made their colony of Brazil, which occupies that immenſe territory that lies between the Maragnon and the Rio de la Plata, one of the moſt valuable diſtricts in America. But, like every people who have ſuddenly acquired great riches, the Portugueſe began to feel the enfeebling effects of luxury and effeminacy. That hardy valour, which had ſubdued ſo many nations, exiſted no longer among them: they were with difficulty brought to fight, except where there was a proſpect of plunder. Corruption prevailed in all the departments of government, and the ſpirit of rapine among all ranks of men. At the ſame time that they gave themſelves up to all thoſe exceſſes which make uſurpers hated, they wanted courage to make themſelves feared. Equally deteſted in every quarter, they at length ſaw themſelves ready to be expelled from India by a confederacy of the princes of the country; and, although they were able, by a deſperate effort, to break this ſtorm, their deſtruction was at hand [10]. A. D. 1572.

WHEN Portugal fell under the dominion of Spain, in conſequence of the fatal cataſtrophe of Don Sebaſtian and his gallant nobility on the coaſt of Africa, Philip II. became poſſeſſed of greater reſources than any monarch in ancient or modern times. But inſtead of employing his enormous wealth in procuring the ſecurity, the happineſs, and the proſperity of his widely extended empire, he profuſely diſſipated it, in endea- A. D. 1580.

10. Faria y Souſa, lib. v. cap. 1. Guyon, *Hiſt. des Ind. Orient.* tom. iii.

touring

PART II. A. D. 1580. vouring to render himself as despotic in Europe as he was already in America, and in no inconsiderable portion of Asia and Africa. While Philip was employed in this ambitious project, his possessions in India were neglected; and as the Portuguese hated the dominion of the Spaniards, they paid little attention to the security of their settlements. No one pursued any other object but his own immediate interest: there was no union, no zeal for the public good [11].

THINGS could not continue long in such a situation; and a new regulation, in regard to trade, completed the ruin of the Portuguese settlements in India. Philip II. whose bigotry and despotism had induced him to attempt to deprive the inhabitants of the Low Countries of their civil and religious liberties, in A. D. 1594. order more effectually to accomplish his aim, prohibited his new subjects from holding any correspondence with the revolted provinces.

THIS was a severe blow to the trade of the Hollanders, which consisted chiefly, as at present, in supplying the wants of one nation with the produce of another. Their merchants, ambitious of augmenting their commerce, had got the trade of Lisbon into their hands. There they purchased India goods, which they sold again to all the different states of Europe. They were therefore struck with consternation at a prohibition, which excluded them from so essential a branch of their trade; and Philip did not foresee, that a restriction, by which he hoped to weaken the Dutch, would in the end render them more formidable. Had they been permitted to continue their intercourse with Portugal, there is reason to believe they would

11. Id. ibid.

ha

have contented themſelves with the commerce they carried on in the European ſeas; but finding it impoſſible to preſerve their trade without the commodities of the Eaſt, they reſolved to ſeek them at the original market, as they were deprived of every other [12]. LETTER XI. A. D. 1594.

In conſequence of this reſolution, the Hollanders fitted out ſome ſhips for India; and after an unſucceſsful attempt to find a paſſage thither through the North Sea, they proceeded by the Cape of Good Hope, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch merchant, who had reſided ſome time at Liſbon, and made himſelf perfectly acquainted with every thing relative to the object of his voyage. His ſucceſs, though by no means extraordinary, encouraged the merchants of Amſterdam to form the project of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement in the iſland of Java. Admiral Van Neck, who was ſent on that important expedition with eight ſhips, found the inhabitants of Java prejudiced againſt his countrymen. They permitted him, however, to trade; and having ſent home four veſſels laden with ſpices, and other India commodities, he ſailed to the Moluccas, where he met with a more favourable reception. The natives, he learned, had forced the Portugueſe to abandon ſome places, and only waited an opportunity of expelling them from the reſt. He entered into a treaty with ſome of the ſovereigns, he eſtabliſhed factories in ſeveral of the iſlands, and he returned to Europe with his remaining ſhips richly laden [13]. A. D. 1595. A. D. 1597. A. D. 1599.

The ſucceſs of this voyage ſpread the moſt extravagant joy over the United Provinces. New aſſociations

12. Avertisement, *à la tete de Recueil des Voyages, qui ont ſervi à l'Eſtabliſſement, et aux Progreſs de la Compagnie des Indies Orientales.*

13. Ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1599. were daily formed for carrying on the trade to India, and new fleets fitted out from every port of the republic. But the ardour of forming theſe aſſociations, though terrible to the Portugueſe, who never knew when they were in ſafety, or where they could with certainty annoy the enemy, had almoſt proved the ruin of the Dutch trade to the Eaſt. The rage of purchaſing raiſed the value of commodities in Aſia, and the neceſſity of ſelling made them bear a low price in Europe. The adventurers were in danger of falling a ſacrifice to their own efforts, and to their laudable jealouſy and emulation, when the wiſdom of government ſaved them A. D. 1602. from ruin, by uniting the different ſocieties into one great body, under the name of the *Eaſt India Company*[14].

THIS company, which was inveſted with authority to make peace or war with the Indian princes, to erect forts, chuſe governors, maintain garriſons, and nominate officers for the conduct of the police and the adminiſtration of juſtice, ſet out with great advantages. The incredible number of veſſels fitted out by the private aſſociations had contributed to make all the branches of eaſtern commerce perfectly underſtood; to form many able officers and ſeamen, and to encourage the moſt reputable citizens to become members of the new company. Fourteen ſhips were accordingly fitted out for India, under the command of admiral Warwick, whom the Dutch look upon as the founder of their lucrative commerce and powerful eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt. He erected a factory in the iſland of Java, and ſecured it by fortifications: he founded another in the territories of the king of Jahor, and formed alliances with

14. *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indies Orientales.* Salengre, *Eſſai d'une Hiſt. des Prov. Unies.*

ſeveral

several princes in Bengal. He had frequent engagements with the Portuguese, in which he was generally successful [15]. A furious war ensued between the two nations. LETTER XI. A.D. 1602.

During the course of this war, which lasted for many years, the Dutch were continually sending to India fresh supplies of men and ships, while the Portuguese received no succours from Europe. Spain, it should seem, wished to humble her new subjects, whom she did not think sufficiently submissive, and to perpetuate her authority over them by the ruin of their wealth and power: she neither repaired their fortifications nor renewed their garrisons. Yet the scale remained even for a while, and the success was various on both sides; but the persevering Hollanders, by their unwearied efforts, at length deprived the Portuguese of Ceylon, the Moluccas, and all their valuable possessions in the East, except Goa, at the same time that they acquired the almost exclusive trade of China and Japan [16]. The island of Java, however, where they had erected their first fortification, and early built the splendid city of Batavia, continued to be, as it is at present, the seat of their principal settlement, and the centre of their power in India.

But these new republicans, flushed with success, were not satisfied with their acquisitions in the East. They turned their eyes also toward the West: they established a colony, to which they gave the name of Nova Belgia, on Hudson's River, in North America: they annoyed the trade, and plundered the settlements of the Spaniards, in every part of the New World; and they made themselves masters of the important

15. Id. ibid.

16. Salengre, ubi sup.

PART II. colony of Brazil in South America. But this was not a permanent conqueſt. When the Portugueſe had ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke in Europe, they bore with impatience in America that of the Dutch: they roſe againſt their oppreſſors; and, after a variety of ſtruggles, obliged them finally to evacuate Brazil, in 1654[17]. Since that æra the Portugueſe have continued in poſſeſſion of this rich territory, the principal ſupport of their declining monarchy, and the moſt valuable European ſettlement in America.

THE Engliſh Eaſt India company was eſtabliſhed as early as the year 1600, and with a fair proſpect of ſucceſs. A fleet of five ſtout ſhips was fitted out the year following, under the command of captain James Lancaſter; who was favourably received by the king of Achen, and other Indian princes, with whom he formed a commercial treaty, and arrived in the Downs, after a proſperous voyage, of near two years. Other voyages were performed with equal advantage. But notwithſtanding theſe temporary encouragements, the Engliſh Eaſt India company had to ſtruggle with many difficulties, and laboured under eſſential inconveniencies. Their rivals, the Portugueſe and Dutch, had harbours of which they were abſolute maſters; places of ſtrength, which they had built, and ſecured by garriſons and regular fortifications; whole provinces, of which they had acquired poſſeſſion either by force or fraud, and over which they exerted an arbitrary ſway. Their trade was therefore protected, not only againſt the violence or caprice of the natives of India, but alſo againſt the attempts of new competitors. They had every opportunity of getting a good ſale for the commodities they carried out from Europe, and of purchaſing thoſe they brought home at a moderate price;

17. *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xiv.

whereas

whereas the Engliſh, who at firſt acted merely as fair traders, having none of theſe advantages, were at once expoſed to the uncertainty of general markets, which were frequently anticipated or over-ſtocked, to the variable humour of the natives, and to the imperious will of their European rivals, who had the power of excluding them from the principal ports in the Eaſt [18].

In order to remedy theſe inconveniencies, the Engliſh company ſaw the neceſſity of departing from their original principles, and of oppoſing force by force. But as ſuch an effort was beyond the reſources of an infant ſociety, they hoped to receive aſſiſtance from government. In this reaſonable expectation, however, they were diſappointed by the weak and timid policy of James I. who only enlarged their charter: yet, by their activity, perſeverance, and the judicious choice of their officers and other ſervants, they not only maintained their trade, but erected forts and eſtabliſhed factories in the iſlands of Java, Polcron, Amboyna, and Banda [19]. A. D. 1616.

The Dutch were alarmed at theſe eſtabliſhments. Having driven the Portugueſe from the Spice-iſlands, they never meant to ſuffer any European nation to ſettle there; much leſs a people, whoſe maritime force, government, and character would make them dangerous rivals. They accordingly endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh by every poſſible means. They began with attempting, by calumnious accuſations, to render them odious to the natives of the countries where they had ſettled. But finding theſe ſhameful expedients ineffectual, they had recourſe to force: and the

18. Ibid. tom. ii. Raynal, tom. i. 19. *Harleyan Collect. of Voyages*, vol. viii.

PART II. A. D. 1616. Indian Ocean became a ſcene of the moſt bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two companies [20].

At length an attempt was made to put a period to thoſe hoſtilities, by one of the moſt extraordinary treaties recorded in the annals of mankind; and which does little honour to the political ſagacity either of the Engliſh or Dutch, if the latter, as is alledged, did not mean it as a veil to their future violences. It was A. D. 1619. agreed, That the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda, ſhould belong in common to the companies of the two nations; that the Engliſh ſhould have one-third, and the Dutch two-thirds of the produce at a fixed price; that each, in proportion to their intereſt, ſhould contribute to the defence of thoſe iſlands; that this treaty ſhould remain in force twenty years, during which the entire trade of India ſhould remain equally free to both nations, neither of them endeavouring to injure the other by ſeparate fortifications or clandeſtine treaties with the natives; and that all diſputes, which could not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, ſhould be finally ſettled and determined by the king of Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces [21].

The fate of this treaty was ſuch as might have been expected from one party or the other. The avarice of the Dutch prompted them to take advantage of the confidential ſecurity of the Engliſh, and to plunder the factories of Lantore and Poleron, after exerciſing the moſt atrocious cruelties on the ſervants of the company. The ſupineneſs of the Engliſh government encouraged them to act the ſame tragedy, accompanied

20. Id. ibid.

21. *Harl. Collect.* ubi ſup.

with

with ſtill more horrid circumſtances of barbarity, at Amboyna [22]: where confeſſions of a pretended conſpiracy were extorted, by tortures at which humanity ſhudders, and which ought never to be forgot or forgiven by Engliſhmen.

In conſequence of theſe unexpected violences, for which the feeble and corrupt adminiſtration of James I. obtained no reparation, the Engliſh Eaſt India company was obliged to abandon the Spice-iſlands, to the rapacity of the Dutch; and though they were leſs unfortunate on the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar, the civil wars in which England was involved toward the latter part of the reign of Charles I. and which took off all attention from diſtant objects, reduced their affairs to a very low condition. Their trade revived during the commonwealth; and Cromwell, on the concluſion of the war with Holland, obtained ſeveral ſtipulations in their favour; but which, from the confuſions that enſued, were never executed. On the acceſſion of Charles II. they hoped to recover their conſequence in India. But that needy and profligate prince, who is ſaid to have betrayed their intereſts to the Dutch for a bribe, cruelly extorted loans from them, at the ſame time that he hurt their trade, by ſelling licences to interlopers; and by theſe means reduced them to the brink of ruin.

The Engliſh were more ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing themſelves, during this period, in North America and the Weſt Indies. As early as the year 1496, John Cabot, a Venetian mariner, in the ſervice of Henry VII. had diſcovered the iſland of Newfoundland, and ſailed along the northern ſhore of the American continent

22. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1642.

from the Gulf of St. Laurence to Cape Florida. But no advantage was taken of theſe diſcoveries before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth; when the bigotry and ambition of Philip II. rouſed the indignation of all the proteſtant powers, but more eſpecially of England, and incited many bold adventurers to commit hoſtilities againſt his ſubjects in the New World. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of thoſe was Sir Francis Drake; who having acquired conſiderable wealth by his depredations againſt the Spaniards in the iſthmus of Darien, paſſed with four ſhips into the South Sea, by the Straits of Magellan, took many rich prizes, and returned to England, in 1579, by the Cape of Good Hope[23]. His ſucceſs awakened the avidity of new adventurers; and the knowledge which was, by theſe means, acquired of the different parts of the American continent, ſuggeſted to the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh the idea of a ſettlement, within the limits of thoſe coaſts formerly viſited by John Cabot.

A COMPANY was accordingly formed for that purpoſe, in conſequence of Raleigh's magnificent promiſes; a patent was obtained from the queen, conformable to their views, and two ſhips were ſent out, commanded by Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, in 1584. They came to anchor in the Bay of Roanoke, in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, of which they took formal poſſeſſion for the crown of England. On their return, they gave ſo favourable an account of the climate, ſoil, and temper of the inhabitants, that a colony was eſtabliſhed the following year[24]: and Elizabeth, in order to encourage the undertaking, honoured the colony with the name of VIR-

23. Hackluyt's *Collect.* vol. iii.

24. Smith's *Hiſt. of Virginia.*

GINIA;

GINIA, in alluſion to her favourite, but much diſputed virtue. LETTER XI.

THIS ſettlement, however, never arrived at any degree of proſperity, and was finally abandoned in 1588. From that time, till the year 1606, when two new companies were formed, and a charter granted to each of them by James I. no attempt appears to have been made by the Engliſh to ſettle on the coaſt of North America. One of the new companies conſiſted of adventurers reſiding in the city of London, who were deſirous of ſettling toward the South, or in what is at preſent called Virginia; and the other of adventurers belonging to Plymouth, Briſtol, and Exeter, who choſe the country more to the North, or what is now called New England. The London Company immediately fitted out three veſſels, under the command of Chriſtopher Newport, an able and experienced mariner, with an hundred and ten adventurers on board, and all manner of implements for building and agriculture, as well as the neceſſary arms for their defence. After a tedious voyage, and many diſcontents among the future coloniſts, their little ſquadron reached the Bay of Cheſapeak. One of the adventurers, in the name of the whole, was appointed to treat with the natives, from whom he obtained leave to plant a colony on a convenient ſpot, about fifty miles from the mouth of the river Powhatan, by the Engliſh called James River. Here they erected a ſlight fort, baricadoed with trunks of trees, and ſurrounded by a number of little huts, to which they gave the name of James Town, in honour of the king [25]. Such was the ſlender beginning of the colony of Virginia; which, though it had to ſtruggle at firſt with many difficulties,

25. Ibid.

became,

PART II. became, even before the Reſtoration, of very great national conſequence.

THE rapid proſperity of Virginia was chiefly owing to the culture of tobacco, its ſtaple commodity, and to the number of Royaliſts that took refuge there, in order to eſcape the tyranny of the parliament. A like cauſe gave population and proſperity to the neighbouring province of Maryland, whoſe ſtaple alſo
A.D. 1632. is tobacco. This territory being granted by Charles I. to Cecilius lord Baltimore, a Roman catholic nobleman, (whoſe father, Sir George Calvert, had ſought an aſylum in Newfoundland, in order to enjoy the free exerciſe of his religion) he formed the ſcheme of a ſettlement; where he might not only enjoy liberty of conſcience himſelf, but alſo be enabled to grant it to ſuch of his friends, as ſhould prefer an eaſy baniſhment with freedom, to the conveniences of England, embittered as they then were by the ſharpneſs of the laws againſt ſectaries, and the popular odium that hung over papiſts. The project ſucceeded: the Roman catholics flocked to the new ſettlement in great numbers, eſpecially on the decline of the royal cauſe; and Maryland ſoon became a flouriſhing colony [26].

NEW ENGLAND owed its riſe to ſimilar circumſtances. A ſmall body of the moſt enthuſiaſtic Puritans, afterward known by the name of Independents, in order to avoid the ſeverity of the Engliſh laws againſt nonconformity, had taken refuge in Holland, ſoon after the acceſſion of James I. But although Hol-

26. Douglas's *Summary*, part II. ſect. xv.

land

land is a country of the greateſt religious freedom, they did not find themſelves better ſatisfied there, than in England. They were tolerated indeed, but watched: their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of oppoſition; and being without power or conſequence, they grew tired of the indolent ſecurity of their ſanctuary. They were deſirous of removing to a country, where they ſhould ſee no ſuperior. With this view, they applied to the Plymouth Company, for a patent of part of the country included in their grant. Pleaſed with this application, the company readily complied; and theſe pious adventurers having made the neceſſary preparations for their voyage, embarked in one ſhip, in 1620, to the number of an hundred and twenty perſons, and landed at a place near Cape Cod, where they founded a ſettlement, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth [27]. Other adventurers, of the ſame complexion, ſucceſſively followed thoſe [28]; and New England, in leſs than fifty years, became

27. Douglaſs. Hutchinſon. Winſlow, ap. Purchas.

28. Among the number of perſons ſo diſpoſed, we are told, appeared John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, who were only prevented from executing their purpoſe of going into voluntary exile, by a royal proclamation, iſſued after they were on ſhipboard, in 1635, prohibiting future emigrations, until a licence ſhould be obtained from the privy council. (Neal's *Hiſtory of the Puritans*, vol. ii) The exultation of the puritannical writers on this ſubject is exceſſive. They aſcribe all the ſubſequent misfortunes of Charles I. in connection with the ſcheme of Providence, to that tyrannical edict, as they are pleaſed to call it. (Neale, ubi ſup. Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, &c.) Nor can the ſpeculative politician help indulging a conjecture on the poſſible conſequences of the emigration of two ſuch extraordinary men, with that of others who would have followed them, at ſuch a criſis. Charles I. rouſed to arms, but not cruſhed by the parliament, might have eſtabliſhed abſolute ſovereignty in England; while Hampden founded a commonwealth, or Cromwell erected a military deſpotiſm in America. Poſſeſſed of a boundleſs country, (for wherever they had gone they muſt have become leaders)

PART II. became a great and populous colony, conſiſting of ſeveral independent governments, which were little inclined to acknowledge the authority of the mother country.

BESIDE theſe large colonies in North America, the Engliſh had eſtabliſhed a colony at Surinam, on the coaſt of Guiana, in South America, and taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the Weſt India iſlands, early in the ſeventeenth century. Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's were thriving colonies before the conqueſt of Jamaica; and the rapid cultivation of that large and fertile iſland, which had been much neglected by the Spaniards, together with the improvement of her other plantations in the Weſt Indies, ſoon gave England the command of the ſugar-trade of Europe [29].

FOR the benefits of this however, and of her whole colony-trade, England is ultimately indebted to the ſagacity of the heads of the Commonwealth-parliament. They perceived that thoſe ſubjects who, from various motives, had taken refuge in America, would be loſt to the parent-ſtate, if the ſhips of foreign powers were

they would never have ſubmitted to the controul of any power on this ſide of the Atlantic. The work of ages would have been accompliſhed in a few years. Sooner than have borne ſuch controul, Hampden would have taken refuge in the woods; have aſſociated with the wild natives, and enrolled them among the number of his citizens. Cromwell, in ſuch emergency, would alſo have led his fanatical herd into the boſom of the foreſt; have hunted with the Savages; have preached to them; have converted them; and when he had made them Chriſtians, they would have found they were ſlaves!—Though deſtitute of the talents of a Hampden or a Cromwell, the emigrants to the northern plantations had ſtrongly imbibed the ſentiments of political as well as religious independency, which they have ever ſince continued to cheriſh.

29. *Account of the European Settlements in America*, vol. ii.

not

not excluded from the ports of the plantations. The diſcuſſion of that important point, with other political conſiderations, brought on the famous Navigation Act, which prohibits all foreign ſhips, unleſs under ſome particular exceptions, from entering the harbours of the Engliſh colonies, and obliges their principal produce to be exported directly to countries under the dominion of England. LETTER XI. A. D. 1651.

BEFORE this regulation, which was with difficulty ſubmitted to by ſome of the colonies, and always evaded by the fanatical and factious inhabitants of New England, the coloniſts uſed to ſend their produce whitherſoever they thought it could be diſpoſed of to moſt advantage, and indiſcriminately admitted into their harbours ſhips of all nations. In conſequence of that unlimited freedom, the greater part of their trade fell into the hands of the Dutch; who, by reaſon of the low intereſt of money in Holland, and the reaſonableneſs of their port-duties, could afford to buy at the deareſt, and ſell at the cheapeſt rate; and who ſeized upon the profits of a variety of productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered [30]. The Navigation Act remedied this evil; and the Engliſh parliament, though aware of the inconveniencies of ſuch a regulation to the colonies, were not alarmed at its probable effects. They conſidered the empire only as a tree, whoſe ſap muſt be returned to the trunk, when it flows too freely to ſome of the branches.

To all thoſe ſettlements England thenceforth exported, without a rival, her various manufactures. From

30. Id. ibid.

her

PART II. her islands in the West Indies they passed to the Spanish main, whence large sums were returned in exchange; and as it was long before her North American colonies began to think of manufacturing for themselves, the export thither was very great. Nor was her trade confined merely to America and the East and West Indies. Early in the sixteenth century she had opened a beneficial trade to Russia, by discovering a passage round the North Cape; and the ingenuity of her manufacturers, who now excelled the Flemings, to whom the greater part of her wool used formerly to be sold, insured her a market for her cloths in all the ports of the Mediterranean and the Baltic.

FRANCE, though at present so distinguished for her commerce and naval power, was late in establishing any permanent colony. She had yet no settlement in the East-Indies: the colony of Canada was only in its infancy: her settlements in Hispaniola were not formed; and the plantations in Martinico and Guadaloupe were very inconsiderable. Nor had her silk manufacture yet attained that high degree of perfection, which afterward rendered it so great a source of wealth [31].

SPAIN continued to receive annually immense sums from the mines of Mexico and Peru. Contiguous settlements and new governments were daily formed, and the demand for European goods was excessive. But as the decline of their manufactures obliged the Spaniards to depend upon foreigners for the supply of that demand, their wealth became the common property of Europe. The industrious manufacturer of every coun-

31. Raynal, *Hist. Philos.* &c.

try

try had his ſhare; and the conquerors of the New World found themſelves dwindle into the factors of England and Holland. LETTER XI.

Such, my dear Philip, was the commercial ſtate of Europe, when Lewis XIV. aſſumed the reins of government, and Charles II. was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors. War continued to rage between the Spaniards and Portugueſe; but, after an ambitious ſtruggle of twenty-eight years, Spain was obliged to acknowledge, in 1668, the right of the family of Braganza to the crown of Portugal. The reſt of Europe was in peace. A. D. 1660.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

00017350

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016